

VU Research Portal

Changes in the personal network after divorce

Terhell, E.L.

2004

document version

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication in VU Research Portal](#)

citation for published version (APA)

Terhell, E. L. (2004). *Changes in the personal network after divorce*. [PhD-Thesis - Research and graduation internal, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam]. Vrije Universiteit.

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal ?

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

E-mail address:

vuresearchportal.ub@vu.nl

CHANGES IN THE PERSONAL NETWORK AFTER DIVORCE

The research reported in this thesis was supported by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO, 510-05-0604) and was conducted under the auspices of the Research Institute for Psychology & Health, an institute accredited by the Royal Dutch Academy of Arts and Sciences.

ISBN 90-5170-769-10

Printed by Thela Thesis, Amsterdam

Cover: Studio Vrijdag, Utrecht

© E.L. Terhell, Utrecht, The Netherlands, 2003

All rights reserved. Save exceptions stated by the law, no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system of any nature, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the author.

VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT

CHANGES IN THE PERSONAL NETWORK AFTER DIVORCE

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan
de Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam,
op gezag van de rector magnificus
prof.dr. T. Sminia,
in het openbaar te verdedigen
ten overstaan van de promotiecommissie
van de faculteit der Sociale Wetenschappen
op donderdag 22 januari 2004 om 13.45 uur
in de aula van de universiteit,
De Boelelaan 1105

door

Elisabeth Louise Terhell

geboren te 's-Gravenhage

promotor:	prof.dr. C.P.M. Knipscheer
copromotoren:	dr. M.I. Broese van Groenou
	dr. T.G. van Tilburg

Aan mijn vader en moeder

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1	Introduction of the research problem	9
CHAPTER 2	Differences in the support network and social participation of divorced men and women	19
CHAPTER 3	Support after divorce: A matter of personality?	41
CHAPTER 4	Network dynamics in the long term period after divorce	59
CHAPTER 5	Changes in contact frequency within network ties in the earlier and later years after divorce	79
CHAPTER 6	Discussion	97
SAMENVATTING		109
REFERENCES		121
DANKWOORD		131
CURRICULUM VITAE		135

1 INTRODUCTION OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1960s, the number of marriages that end in divorce in the Netherlands as well as in other western societies has strongly increased. In the period between 1960 and 1985, the number of divorces in the Netherlands rose from 6,000 to 34,000 a year (Tas, 1989). Since then, the number has more or less stabilized (CBS, 1990, 1995, 1999a). Recent estimates indicate that one in four of today's marriages will end in divorce. To cope with the insecurity and stress involved in a divorce, people usually seek support in personal relationships. The presence of a network of relationships and the support exchanged therein are thereby important for adjusting successfully to the psychosocial effects of a divorce (Amato, 2000). In the last three decades a large number of studies have described the social consequences of a divorce (Milardo, 1987; Smerglia, Miller, & Kort-Butler, 1999). Insights obtained from these studies are however restricted to the social consequences in the short term after divorce and mainly come from small-scale, sometimes qualitative-oriented, studies on a selective group of respondents (Albeck & Kaydar, 2002; Hughes, Good, & Candell, 1993; Jacobson, 1983; Spanier & Thompson, 1984). In the Netherlands, research in this area did not begin to develop until the 1980's and has thus far been limited to small-scale or descriptive studies (Broese van Groenou, 1991; Maas, 1984; Weeda & Groenewold, 1986). Overall, the existing studies indicate that divorce pre-eminently is an event with large social consequences. The disruption of the marital relationship is accompanied by changes in many personal relationships of both the ex-spouses. The present study adds to the existing literature by focusing on network changes in the short and the long term using data from a longitudinal sample of divorced persons, and by comparing the networks of divorced and (re)married persons using a large national representative sample. The main objective is to examine in what way and why networks of personal relationships change after a divorce. The field of research is defined in three ways: (1) the network of *personal relationships*, (2) *changes* in personal networks, and (3) changes in personal networks *after divorce*.

This chapter starts with a summary of previous findings on network change after divorce and the general research question of the thesis (1.1). Subsequently, the theoretical model that is used for the explanation of network changes after divorce is presented, along with hypotheses to account for changes in personal networks (1.2). In this study changes in personal networks are examined by means of data from a national survey and a panel study. The two data sets are briefly described (1.3). Last, is an outline of the content of the chapters in this thesis (1.4).

CHANGES IN PERSONAL NETWORKS AFTER DIVORCE

Previous network studies suggest that shortly after a divorce the personal network becomes smaller, and undergoes fluctuations, consolidating in a different composition, with different patterns of connections and interactions (Milardo, 1987). A common finding is that about half of the relationships in the pre-divorce network is lost within two years after the marital break-up (Broese van Groenou, 1991; Rands 1988). The losses mostly concern relationships that were shared with the former spouse, as in-laws and mutual friends. The termination of these relationships is often ascribed to loyalty issues, vanished responsibilities toward the family in-law, and the break of contact with the former spouse (Spicer & Hampe, 1975). Contacts with own friends and family become more intense and are likely to provide the divorcee with various types of support (Albeck & Kaydar, 2002; Hughes et al., 1993; Miller, Smerglia, Gaudet, & Kitson, 1998). Some studies found that growth in the network takes place as time passes after divorce (Albeck & Kaydar, 2002; D'Abate, 1993; Hughes et al., 1993). The extent to which the divorced rebuild their networks by the formation of new ties or reinvestments in contacts that were broken off at the time of the divorce becomes clear not until in the later years. The isolating effect of divorce may persist for an extended period of time (Kalmijn & Broese van Groenou, 2003).

This study describes and explains differences in changes in the network of personal relationships over the long term after divorce. The study includes a comparison of network changes in the short and long term after divorce. Changes in the number of (different types of) relationships in the network as well as contact fluctuations in network ties are examined. The central question in the explanation is why some individuals are faced with social losses and others are able to keep or enlarge their networks. The explanation of changes in relationships after divorce in this study is based on the theoretical notion that networks are the outcome of individual opportunities in the past and present to invest in relationships (applications in Broese van Groenou, 1991 and van Busschbach, 1996). The focus of the explanation is on the individual opportunity structure but attention is also paid to relationship characteristics that can determine whether it is actually attractive to invest in a particular relationship. The general research question of the thesis is:

To what extent can changes in personal network relationships in the short and long term after divorce be explained by personal and structural conditions of the individual in the past and present to develop and maintain relationships and by characteristics of the relationship itself?

Researchers within social psychology, sociology and allied fields have employed a variety of theories and conceptual perspectives to explain changes in relationships (Le & Agnew, 2003). Together these studies offer a picture of the type of factors that play a role in the formation

and breaking of relationships in the personal network. The next paragraph provides an overview of these factors and specifies how several of these factors are combined in the explanation of network changes in this study.

A MULTIDIMENSIONAL EXPLANATION

The central assumption in the present research is that people take a goal oriented and deliberate decision to (dis)invest in a relationship within the available personal and structural opportunities to interact with other persons. Whether a person decides to invest in a particular relationship within the possibilities available, will depend on relationship characteristics, i.e. the costs and benefits of maintaining contact with the other person. The study investigates changes at the network level and changes at the relational level. Changes in the number of (different types of) relationships in the personal network are explained by opportunities to invest that depend on the conditions of the focal individual. The explanation of changes in contact within relationships includes the opportunities of the individual to invest as well as characteristics of the relationship. Hypotheses on individual and relationship conditions that explain changes in network relationships in general and in the specific situation after a divorce are taken into account.

Opportunities to invest

Differences in the maintenance and development of personal network relationships after divorce may partly result from the differential opportunities to invest in relationships during the time while still married and the period after divorce. The explanation includes 4 types of individual conditions in the past and present to maintain and develop relationships: 1) characteristics of the disrupted marriage, 2) characteristics of the divorce, 3) personality characteristics, and 4) characteristics of the living and working situation.

Characteristics of the disrupted marriage

Marital partners share a household, material possessions, and social contacts. The joint possession of resources brings about a mutual dependency between the spouses. The level of dependency or the degree to which partners count on each other to gratify outcomes becomes manifest for a large part in the division of paid and unpaid labor but also in the maintenance of social contacts. As compared to modern marriages, traditional marriages are characterized by a strict division of tasks. In traditional marriages the husband is expected to be the breadwinner and the wife takes care of children, the household, and the maintenance of relationships with family and friends. The marital partners often participate in joint activities and develop mutual social contacts which fosters the interdependency of the couple's social life and the emergence of overlapping personal networks (Milardo, 1982; Kalmijn &

Bernasco, 2001). In modern marriages the emphasize on values such as independence and autonomy may imply that couples develop a more separate lifestyle, i.e. establish their own social life next to the couple's joint social life (Kalmijn & Bernasco, 2001). It has been found that relationships that make up the couple's joint social network, i.e. that are shared with the partner during marriage, are especially at risk to be broken off after divorce (Broese van Groenou, 1992). Accordingly, it may be expected that persons who divorce from a modern marriage experience fewer social losses after divorce than persons from a traditional marriage because they maintained relatively many contacts of their own in the period while married. In addition, because persons from modern marriages are more used to maintain their own network they may be better able to compensate for the loss of relationships in the period after divorce.

Characteristics of the divorce

Opposing hypotheses are described in the literature about the impact of divorce on social contacts. First, a liberation hypothesis, which suggests that because the spouse is no longer an interaction partner, the change to being single again will activate various aspects of social participation, as for example, performing recreational activities with others, visiting bars, theaters, and taking up dating behavior (Gerstel, 1988a). Second, an isolation hypothesis, which suggests that after divorce people lose many of the couple oriented activities and contacts they frequently engaged in while married (McKenry & Price, 1991). The examination of a causal (liberating or isolating) effect of divorce on personal networks although interesting falls beyond the scope of this study. Yet, the role of divorce characteristics, e.g. the attitude toward the break-up and conflicts with the ex-partner over divorce settlements, in network changes is examined. A negative divorce experience with long lasting conflicts between the ex-spouses may defer one's interest or absorb the time available for investments in network relationships, thereby contributing to (persistent) network losses (Jacobson, 1983; Kitson, 1982). In contrast, a negative divorce may also trigger the mobilization of supportive relationships resulting as such in network gains (Miller et al., 1998). The present study explores how a difficult divorce affects the personal network over the long term.

Personality characteristics

The initiation and maintenance of personal contacts requires a certain degree of self-disclosure, emotional stability and the capacity to empathize with others. In previous studies characteristics of the personal network were positively related to personality characteristics as extraversion (Lang, Staudinger, & Carstensen, 1998; Von Dras & Siegler, 1997), emotional expressiveness (Barbee et al., 1993), and emotional stability (Lang et al., 1998). These personality characteristics are generally called upon in interactions with other people. In the situation of divorce people are confronted with the loss of the partner as well as the loss of

network members. Many divorcees will attempt to mobilize relationships to compensate for the loss of potential sources of support and social interaction, thereby making a strong appeal on one's personality characteristics that facilitate the maintenance of social contacts. Hence the differential availability of (supportive) contacts may be a matter of differences in the disposition of personal characteristics in general but especially after the experience of a divorce.

Characteristics of the living and working situation

In order to invest in personal relationships people need to have access to potential contacts as well as sufficient resources, such as time and money (Moore, 1990; van der Poel, 1993). Having access to larger social networks and resources depends in part on characteristics of one's living and working situation, such as the participation in a paid job, and the availability of children and a partner relationship. Divorce is likely to affect these conditions and thereby the possibility to maintain and develop relationships. Having a paid job provides opportunities to develop friendships with and through colleagues, but restricts the time to invest in relationships with kin and friends outside the work setting (Baruch, Biener, & Barnett, 1987). The presence of children at home may also increase as well as decrease the opportunities to maintain relationships. Having children at home restricts the time to meet people outside the domestic circle (Munch, McPherson, & Smith-Lovin, 1997), but being restricted to the local neighborhood brings about more frequent interactions with neighbors and other parents (Campbell & Lee, 1990; Wellman & Wellman, 1992). Having a paid job or children at home may primarily affect the composition of the personal network. Contacts with colleagues or with other parents are affected relatively little by the divorce. Having a paid job or children at home may therefore contribute to the maintenance of specific types of relationships in the network in general and after divorce in particular. A (marital) partner provides easy access to relationships with in-laws and friends and increases the time and financial budget available for social interactions. As such, remarriage may be an important way to avert the negative social consequences of a divorce (Coleman, Ganong, & Fine, 2000). This study investigates the extent to which remarriage restores post-divorce changes in the personal network. Finally, residential moves tend to interfere with the maintenance of relationships by increasing the traveling distance between the focal person and the network member. However, as time passes and people get settled within their new neighborhood, relationships with new friends and neighbors may develop (Larner, 1990; Magdol, 2000). Residential moves are common among divorcees as one or both the ex-partners will leave the marital home and this may contribute to a (temporary) decreased availability of network relationships.

Characteristics of the relationship

Rusbult (1980) introduced the Invest Model to examine changes in interpersonal relationships. According to this model people tend to persist in a specific relationship if: 1) a

long term orientation toward the relationship exists, 2) the satisfaction derived from a relationship is higher, 3) the possible alternatives to that relationship are lower, and 4) more investments in the contact have been made in the past (Arriaga & Agnew, 2001; Rusbult & Buunk, 1993). The explanation of changes in contact in relationships in this study includes three of these four factors, i.e. the long term orientation, the possible alternatives, and previous investments. The amount of satisfaction from the relationship is not examined, yet the explanation takes into account the present costs and benefits of maintaining contact with the other person. Research that is based on samples of general populations reports large turnover in personal networks over a longer time period (van Busschbach, 1996; van Tilburg, 1998; Wellman, Wong, Tindall, & Nazer, 1997). Durable ties tend to be with kin and personal relationships that provided social support. The present research assesses which relationships are likely to be lost over the long term after a divorce. After a divorce, people may withdraw from network members who are also in contact with the ex-partner or show signs of disapproval (Broese van Groenou, 1991; Spanier & Thompson, 1984). The study includes an exploration of the extent to which the impact of divorce related characteristics wears off over time.

Men and women

Gender differences are known to exist in post-divorce network characteristics and in the opportunities to invest in relationships (Milardo, 1987). Previous studies reported that men are more likely to interact in new and casual ties, including a new partner relationship, while women tend to maintain and intensify contacts with relatives and intimate pre-divorce friends (Broese van Groenou, 1991; Rands, 1988). With regard to differences in the opportunities to invest in relationships it was found that women's structural resources are more likely to be restricted after divorce than men's (Poortman & Kalmijn, 1999). However, women differed positively from men in personal capacities that may facilitate the mobilization and maintenance of contacts (Barbee et al, 1993), the degree to which they have invested in relationships during marriage (Gerstel, 1988a), and aspects of the divorce (Petit & Bloom, 1984). This study further explores gender differences in (the explanation of) network changes after divorce.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND DATA

Changes in personal networks are assessed by means of data from two studies, the nationwide survey "Divorce in the Netherlands 1998" (Kalmijn, de Graaf, & Uunk, 2000) and the panel study "Network changes after divorce" (Broese van Groenou, 1991). These data sets are described in more detail in chapters 2 through 5.

Divorce in the Netherlands 1998 (SIN98)

To examine the impact of divorce on personal networks, longitudinal data are needed. Prospective data are ideal but these hardly exist in the Netherlands. To gain more insight in the effect of divorce on personal networks data are used from the SIN98-survey, a large scale survey with a retrospective and stratified design. Stratification occurred according to the next categories of marital status: 1) persons in their first marriage, 2) divorced persons who were not remarried, and 3) divorced persons who were remarried. The ever-divorced are over-represented in the sample. The data contain information on support networks and social participation in a more general sense. For the identification of the network, participants were asked with whom they exchanged supportive transactions in the past year. Respondents reported for a maximum of ten network members about characteristics of persons (e.g. gender, marital status) and ties (e.g. type of relation, duration of the relationship). Regarding social participation, respondents provided information about the frequency with which they participated in different types of social contacts and activities. In addition, the SIN98 includes information on the division of household tasks and income during marriage, indirect measures of the overlap between the networks of respondents and their (ex-)partners, information on transitions in the living- and work situation since the divorce and the current family situation.

Network changes after divorce

The data of the study “Network changes after divorce” are especially suitable for a prospective analysis of changes in the personal network in the period after divorce. The study also allows to compare post-divorce to pre-divorce networks since a retrospective identification of the personal network in the year prior to the divorce is included. Data were collected in three waves over a period of 12 years on 40 men and 64 women who divorced in 1987 or 1988. Interviews were conducted at 4 months, 1 year, and 12 years after the divorce. The study “Network changes after divorce” started in 1988 with a sample of 150 respondents, 41 ex-couples and 68 respondents who participated in the study without their ex-partner. The second round of data collection included 137 respondents. Network members were identified by a combination of the exchange method (McCallister & Fischer, 1978; van Sonderen, Ormel, Brilman, & van Linden van den Heuvell, 1990) and the role-relation method (Kleiner & Parker, 1976; van Sonderen et al., 1990).

OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

The present research examines changes in personal networks after divorce. The first two studies (Chapter 2 and 3) focus on differences in support networks of married and divorced men and women. The other two studies (Chapter 4 and 5) explore changes in personal

networks over the long term period after divorce. The main findings of these four studies are discussed in the final chapter (Chapter 6).

The first study describes differences in the size and composition of support networks, and social participation of (ever) divorced men and women. Differences in network characteristics and social participation between those who remained single and those living with a new partner (the “remarried”) are analyzed. The comparison of single and remarried persons offers insight in the degree to which remarriage is associated with an improvement of the social situation of the divorced. The explanation takes into account current living and working conditions, characteristics of the disrupted marriage, and personality. Parallel analyses on men and women are conducted to explore differences between men and women in the explanation of their support networks and social participation. The second study also includes first married persons and further explores the extent to which differences in the total number of network supporters are explained by (the interplay of) divorce, remarriage, and personality. The central question in this study is whether personality is specifically important in determining the differential availability of supportive relationships after the experience of a divorce.

The third study investigates whether types of change in network size can be identified. These types distinguish between temporary and long lasting network losses and gains of network members. The identification of network change patterns provides insight in the social adjustment, i.e. the reorganization of the personal network, after divorce. In the explanation of why individuals differ in the extent to which network losses are compensated for after divorce, attention is paid to characteristics of the divorce, personal capacities, and living and working conditions. In the last study, the focus is on changes in contact frequency within relationships of the pre-divorce personal network in the short and long term after divorce. The question is who remains in the network over the long term and why. The explanation includes characteristics of the relationship (past, present, and future benefits and costs) and characteristics of the focal person (personal capacities and perceived restrictions, and characteristics of the living and working situation). Specific attention is paid to the issue of whether investments in pre-divorce contacts remain to be influenced by characteristics that are specific to the situation after a divorce.

**2 DIFFERENCES IN THE SUPPORT NETWORK AND SOCIAL
 PARTICIPATION OF DIVORCED MEN AND WOMEN**

E. L. Terhell, M. I. Broese van Groenou, T. G. van Tilburg (2001)
Sociale Wetenschappen, 44, 93-114

ABSTRACT

The study explains differences in the support network and social participation of divorced men and women by taking into account partner status, current living conditions, characteristics of the disrupted marriage, and personality. A sample of 722 men and 1073 women, divorced between 1947 and 1997 in the Netherlands, participated in a survey conducted in 1998. Support networks of single women contained the largest proportion of kin and the smallest proportion of post-divorce contacts. Single men had the least kin and men living with a new partner had the most post-divorce contacts. Compared to single men and women those living with a partner had higher rates of social participation. Multivariate regression analyses indicated that, for both men and women, differences in network features and social participation after divorce were best explained by current structural conditions (availability of a partner, level of education, employment and child care), and to a lesser degree by characteristics of the disrupted marriage (overlap in marital networks) and by one's personality (extraversion).

INTRODUCTION

For nearly everyone, divorce is a life event that has negative consequences for one's well-being. Therefore, it is not surprising that in the study of divorce a great deal of attention has been devoted to the psychological consequences of divorce and the individual's capacity to recover from the separation from the partner (see for instance Amato, 2000). Apart from being a personal crisis, divorce is also a network crisis: not only the relationship between the two spouses is disturbed, but also the relationships the two ex-partners have with family, in-laws, friends, and acquaintances. Both the availability and the support of personal network relationships are under pressure after a divorce (Milardo, 1987; Smerglia, Miller, & Kort-Butler, 1999). Shortly after the divorce, contact is severed with on average 40% of the people in the marital network (Broese van Groenou, 1991, 1992; Rands, 1988). In the remaining contacts, these include mainly family members and 'own' friends and acquaintances, the exchange of emotional and practical support increases (Hughes, 1988; Leslie & Grady, 1985; Miller, Smerglia, Gaudet, & Kitson, 1998).

Besides consequences for personal relationships, a divorce also seems to have consequences for social participation in a more general sense. During the first years after the divorce, many divorcees are socially less active, in areas like going out, dating, and membership of sport clubs and associations (Raschke, 1977; Milardo, 1987; McKenry & Price, 1991). As the divorce is longer in the past, social activity increases: clubs and associations become an opportunity to make new contacts (Jacobson, 1983).

Just as the loss of the partner sets off changes in personal relationships and social participation, entering into a new partner relationship after a divorce may also have its social consequences. Many divorcees eventually remarry: 60% of men and 40% of women (CBS, 1999b). For some, remarriage will reduce the negative financial, emotional, and social consequences of divorce (Coleman, Ganong, & Fine, 2000). However, there is also some evidence that people in their second marriage do not attain the same level of well-being (Dykstra & de Jong Gierveld, 1999) and of network size (Dykstra & Liefbroer, 1998) as in their first marriage. As a new partner may change the social situation of the divorced it is useful to make a distinction in the study of the social consequences of a divorce between single divorcees and divorcees with a new (marital) partner.

Insights in the social consequences of divorce typically come from small-scale, sometimes qualitative-oriented, studies on a selective group of respondents (Jacobson, 1983; Spanier & Thompson, 1984; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1990). In the Netherlands, research in this area has thus far been limited to small-scale, descriptive studies (Broese van Groenou, 1991; Maas, 1984; Weeda & Groenewold, 1986). Recently, we gathered data on a representative sample of (ever) divorced persons, as part of the research program "Divorce in the Netherlands 1998" (SIN98; Kalmijn, de Graaf, & Uunk, 2000). In the SIN-survey data were collected on single and remarried divorcees about various aspects of social functioning.

This study aims to describe and explain differences in the support networks and social participation of divorced men and women in the Netherlands. Our study focuses on three issues: a) describing the support network and the social participation of (ever) divorced men and women; b) testing a multivariate explanation of the differences in support network and social participation of (ever) divorced persons; and c) exploring the differences between men and women in this respect. In the description of the network, we focus our attention on the availability of supporting relationships. Both *size* (total number) and *composition* (the proportion of family relationships and the proportion of new, i.e. post-divorce, relationships) of the support network are described. With regard to social participation, we distinguish between social *contacts* (contact frequency with various types of relationships) and social *activities* (participation in various forms of leisure activities). In order to explain differences between the (ever) divorced, we examine which social and personal conditions are important for the maintenance of social relationships and leading an active social life.

HYPOTHESES

Central to our explanation is the question why some divorcees have more support relationships and a higher level of social participation than other divorcees. We assume that differences in social behaviors are to a certain degree explained by differences in opportunity structure. Individual motives for maintaining certain relationships or being socially active may also be important but are (for now) left outside the scope of our investigation. This study examines divorcees' personal and structural conditions in the past and present to maintain relationships. We assume that four types of conditions are important to our explanation: 1) having a partner, 2) characteristics of the present living situation, 3) characteristics of the disrupted marriage, and 4) characteristics of the personality.

Partner status

As we pointed out, a (marital) partner is an important instrument for the fulfillment of a person's social life. First, the partner him or her self is often an important source of support. Second, through a new partner one gains access to new friends and in-laws without much effort, and the network will be more diverse in composition (Hurlbert & Acock, 1990). Third, participation in clubs and going out is facilitated by a partner, who can come along as company or stay at home to look after the children. We therefore expect that, compared to single divorced persons, divorced persons who live together with a (new) partner have a larger support network with a smaller proportion of family members and a larger share of new contacts, have more frequent contact with different types of social relationships, and participate more often in social activities.

Characteristics of the present living situation

Explanations for differences in social functioning are in general sought in material and personal resources, such as income, health, and the presence of children (van der Poel, 1993). Such resources facilitate the maintenance of relationships or provide access to other networks and thereby to new social contacts (Lin, 1982). The first characteristic of the present living situation we examine is 'having a paid job outside the home'. A paid job limits the time available to maintain social relationships (Baruch, Biener, & Barnett, 1987), but also offers opportunities to develop personal relationships with colleagues, or to meet others through colleagues. We assume that a paid job outside the home provides access to more contacts and thereby to a larger network with relatively less kin and to more diversity in contacts and social activities. A second factor is the care for young children. Although caring for children is time consuming, it also offers opportunities to meet other parents via for instance school or neighborhood. In this phase of life, one's action radius is limited and a relatively large proportion of contacts are with family members. Care responsibilities form a restriction for the development of new relationships and contribute to a strengthening of the relationships that are maintained after a divorce. We assume that caring for young children contributes to a smaller network with relatively many family members and few new contacts, and to less diverse social contacts and less social activities. A third possible restriction for maintaining network relationships concerns the income that is available to spend on social activities. People with a higher income can become members of organizations and sports clubs, and are able to 'buy time' because they can afford to own a car and hire a domestic help or a baby-sitter. We suppose that a higher income is associated with a larger network, with a larger number of non-kin and new relationships, and with more diverse contacts and more social activity after a divorce.

Characteristics of the disrupted marriage

In a marriage, partners share a household, possessions, and social contacts. The joint possession of resources brings about a high degree of interdependency between the spouses. This mutual dependency is primarily expressed in the division of tasks between men and women with regard to tasks such as paid employment and the care for young children, but also to maintaining social contacts. Compared to modern marital patterns, in traditional marriages the tasks are strictly divided; The husband is responsible for the income and the wife takes care of the children, the housekeeping, and the maintenance of relationships with family members and friends. Social contacts are often approached as a couple, which increases the interdependency on the social level (Kalmijn & Bernasco, 2001). Especially these 'couple-companiate' contacts (Lopata, 1988) are at risk of being broken off after a divorce, because it is hard for common friends and acquaintances to maintain contact with both ex-partners (Broese van Groenou, 1992). Family members who were in contact with both partners during the marriage, often side with their own family member. We therefore

expect that persons, who were in a marriage with a more modern division of tasks regarding paid employment, housekeeping, and maintaining social contacts, will retain a larger network with a smaller proportion of family members after divorce than persons from a marriage with a more traditional marital pattern. Since persons with a modern marital pattern are more used to maintaining their own network, they may be better able to compensate for the (possibly few) social losses in the period after divorce. We expect them to have a greater proportion of new support relationships in their network, to participate in more social contacts, and to participate more often in social activities than persons with a more traditional marital pattern.

Personality characteristics

Maintaining personal relationships requires a certain degree of openness towards others, emotional stability, and the capacity to empathize with others. Although often formulated, this assumption has seldom been empirically tested. There is however evidence that, for instance, extraversion is associated with network size (Lang, Staudinger, & Carstensen, 1998; Costa, Zonderman, & McCrae, 1985), maintaining contacts with non-kin (Eisemann, 1984), and mobilizing social support (Bergeman, Plomin, Pedersen, & McClearn, 1990; Von Dras & Siegler, 1997). In this study, we consider the impact of two personality characteristics; extraversion and emotional stability. We expect persons with a more extraverted and emotionally stable personality to have a larger support network after a divorce, with a smaller proportion of kin and a larger share of new contacts, and to have more diverse contacts and to be socially more active than persons with a more introverted and instable personality.

Men and women

Both in the availability of and the support from relationships, divorced men have different experiences than divorced women (Clarke-Stewart & Bailey, 1990; Gerstel 1988b; Gerstel, Riessman, & Rosenfield, 1985). After a divorce, women retain more social contacts and interact more frequently with their family members than men. Divorced men, on the other hand, are socially more active after a divorce and more often develop new relationships than women (Milardo, 1987; Raschke, 1977; McKenry & Price, 1991), including a new partner relationship. Some of the determinants of social functioning that were mentioned above are also different for men and women. Particularly the restrictions in the living situation seem to be greater for women than for men. Women have no job outside of the home, or combine a job with the care for children, and usually have less income than men, after a divorce (Gerstel et al., 1985; Poortman & Kalmijn, 1999). The importance of marital characteristics for the network after divorce should be the same for the man and the woman from the marriage. However, married men are likely to rely on their spouses for the maintenance of the social network (Bahr 1976; Fischer, Sollie, Sorell, & Green, 1989). Because the woman often had the role of ‘kin-keeper’ in the marriage, many of the contacts will stay with her and the man will experience greater losses. There are no indications that men have different personalities

than women. The relation between the determinants on the one hand and the network characteristics and the indicators of social participation on the other hand can differ for men and women. The study will therefore explore to what extent the explanation of differences in support networks and social participation of (ever) divorced persons runs parallel for men and women.

METHOD

Respondents

The data on (ever) divorced persons are derived from the survey “Divorce in the Netherlands” (SIN; Kalmijn et al., 2000). The SIN is a large-scale survey, conducted in 1998 among 2346 persons, with a retrospective and stratified design. Stratification occurred according to the next categories of marital status: 1) persons in their first marriage; 2) persons who are divorced (not more than once) and have not remarried; and 3) persons who remarried after a divorce. The divorced are over-represented in the sample. The sample was drawn from the population registers of 19 municipalities that were selected on their geographic location (the Northeastern, Western, and Southern region of the Netherlands) and degree of urbanization. Of all respondents reached (79%), 58 percent agreed to participate in the study. The contact response did not differ significantly for the three groups (Kalmijn et al., 2000). The participating respondents were interviewed at home by trained interviewers. On average, the structured interview lasted an hour and a half and included questions on the present living situation, the professional career, characteristics of the partner (present partner and/or ex-partner), the relationship with the ex-partner at the time of the marriage, the settlement of the divorce, the relationship with children, the personal network, social participation, and personality characteristics.

Of the 2346 respondents, 551 were in their first marriage and 1795 (ever) divorced. In our analyses, we will only use the data of the 1795 (ever) divorced persons. A comparison of divorced and married persons with regard to network characteristics has been described elsewhere (Terhell, Broese van Groenou, & van Tilburg, 2001a). The analyses in this study are on 722 men (40%) and 1073 women. In the total group, the mean age is 49.1 years ($SD = 10.2$; range is 28 to 85 years). The respondents were married between 1943 and 1997, and the divorce had on average taken place 13.0 years ago ($SD = 8.5$; range is 0 to 49 years).

Measurements

Background characteristics

The number of years elapsed since the time of divorce (*divorce duration*), the *age* (in years), and the highest *level of education* (ranging from 1 = primary education or less to 7 = university education), are control variables in the study.

Partner status

All (ever) divorced persons were asked whether they had entered into a new marital relationship or had been living with a partner for more than three years after their divorce. At the time of the interview 52% ($n = 927$) of the (ever) divorced respondents were living together with a (marital) partner.

Present living situation

The number of hours a respondent spends in *paid employment* is divided into three categories: 0 = unemployed, 1 = works 25 hours a week or less (subsequently referred to as part time), and 2 = works more than 25 hours a week (full time). The *care for children living at home* is also divided into three categories: 0 = no children or no children living at home, 1 = at least one child living at home is younger than 12 years of age, and 2 = children living at home are 12 years of age or older. Finally, the current *net household income* was assessed. Respondents were asked to indicate how much income a month was gained from paid employment, alimony, social benefits, and/or other sources. For each source of income, earnings could be indicated using 23 categories (with increasing intervals), with the first category being 0 - 100 guilders and the last category 7500 guilders or more. At summation, we used for each category the class middle. The amounts from all income sources were added up. If a partner was present, the respondent was asked to classify the partner's net monthly income using the same 23 categories (not specified by source). The total net income of respondent and partner was multiplied by 0.7 to allow for comparison with the income of single persons (Schiepers, 1988). On average, the net household income of the respondents is Fl. 2,994 (range is 0 to 10,500; $SD = 1753$).

Characteristics of the disrupted marriage

Three indicators were used to assess whether the (disrupted) marriage had a more traditional or a more modern division of tasks regarding household tasks, income, and social contacts. For the *division of household tasks* the respondent indicated how a number of five household tasks were divided among him/her self and the spouse at the time that they had been married for five years. For the tasks of 'cooking', 'laundry', 'cleaning the house', 'odd jobs in and around the house', and 'financial administration', respondents could indicate on a five point scale whether they themselves or their partner carried out the task. The answers were in

combination with the sex of the respondent recoded in such a way that a higher score indicated a more modern division of tasks. For instance, a male respondent who indicated that his partner primarily did the cooking scored 1 point on that item, while a female respondent indicating that it was primarily the partner who cooked, scored 5 points. Subsequently, the five items were added up, so that a sum score ranging from 5 to 25 ($M = 10.9$; $SD = 3.7$) was obtained.

One question was asked regarding the *division of the household income* after five years of marriage: “What proportion of household income did your partner bring in at that time? The answer categories varied from 1 = practically nothing by partner, to 5 = nearly everything by partner. This score was also recoded depending on the sex of the respondent, in such a way that a higher score would indicate a more modern division of tasks. Subsequently, a dichotomy was used: 0 = the man brings in (about) three quarters of the household income or more, 1 = the woman brings in (about) half the household income or more (31% in the study sample).

We assume that respondents who never engaged in social contacts without their partner had a more *overlapping marital network* than those who – occasionally or often – met with others without the partner. Respondents could indicate how often they met with friends, people from the neighborhood, or colleagues without the partner, at the time they were five years into the marriage. Answer categories were: 0 = (almost) never without the partner, 1 = sometimes without the partner, and 2 = often without the partner. In the multivariate regression analyses, a distinction was made between 1 = (almost) never without the partner (30%), versus 2 = sometimes/often without the partner (70%).

Personality

Two aspects of the personality were assessed by means of two subscales of the ‘Big Five’ (Goldberg, 1981; Gerris, 1998): extraversion and emotional stability. *Extraversion* was measured by means of six characteristics. For each characteristic, respondents could indicate on a 7-point scale to what extent the characteristic applied to them. For extraversion, these characteristics were: ‘reserved’, ‘quiet’, ‘introverted’, ‘talkative’, ‘bashful’, and ‘withdrawn’. The same procedure was followed for the six items on *emotional stability*: ‘irritable’, ‘nervous’, ‘touchy’, ‘anxious’, ‘fearful’, and ‘high-strung’. After recoding and summation, a higher score reflects a more extraverted or more stable personality. The scores on both scales range from 6 to 42. The average score on the extraversion scale is 29.6 ($SD = 6.3$; range is 9 to 42). On the scale for emotional stability the mean score is 29.9 ($SD = 6.4$; range is 11 to 42). Both subscales are reliable measures (Cronbach’s alpha = 0.80 for both scales).

The support network

The support network is identified by means of two questions. The first question concerned the receiving of emotional support: “With whom did you discuss your personal problems in the

past year?” The second question concerned the receiving of instrumental support: “Who helped you in the past year with practical problems such as cleaning, preparing food, odd jobs in and around the house, watering plants, and caring for children?” In answer to each question, a maximum of five persons of at least 18 years of age could be mentioned (with first name and first letter of surname or initials). For each network member, respondents were asked to indicate the type of relationship (in six categories: child, other family, friend/acquaintance, neighbor, colleague, other) and (with the exception of family members) the duration of the relationship. In identifying support providers, people often forget to mention the partner, because support from the partner is taken for granted. To avoid mistakes in this respect, respondents living with a partner were specifically instructed not to mention the partner. The *size of the support network* was assessed as the total number of different persons mentioned in answer to the two questions. Persons who are mentioned in the answer to both questions are counted only once. The range of the total number of support providers runs from 0 to 10 ($M = 2.5$; $SD = 2.0$). In answer to the two questions, 315 respondents (18%) mentioned no network members at all. As an indicator for the composition of the support network, we calculated the *proportion of family members* in the total network (range is 0% to 100%, $M = 41\%$, $SD = 37\%$). The third network characteristic is the *proportion of new network members*. Here, we assessed for each network member, using the duration of the network relationship and the year of divorce, whether the respondent was in contact with this person before the divorce (and could therefore not be considered a ‘new’ network member). Subsequently, for each respondent the proportion of ‘new’ network members was calculated (range is 0% to 100%, $M = 35\%$, $SD = 38\%$). The proportion of family members and the proportion of new network members were only calculated for those respondents who mentioned at least one network member.

Social participation

The first indicator for social participation involves both the frequency and the diversity of *contacts*. For five types of relationships (friends, people from the neighborhood, kin, in-laws, colleagues outside the workplace), respondents indicated how often they generally maintained contact with these relationship types. Possible answers varied between 0 = no contact to 4 = once a week or more often. The sum score varies from 0 to 20 ($M = 12.3$; $SD = 3.4$) and a higher score means that a person has more frequent and more diverse contacts. The second indicator is the degree to which a person participates in social *activities* in his/her leisure time. For three types of leisure activities, respondents indicated whether they 1 = never, 2 = sometimes, or 3 = often participated in the activity. These activities were a) sports, hobby's, participation in clubs, b) going out to bars, restaurants, cinema or theatre, and c) outdoor leisure activities such as visiting a fair or amusement park, biking and hiking. The total score varies between 3 and 9 ($M = 6.1$; $SD = 1.6$), with a higher score indicating more social activity.

Procedure

Differences in network characteristics, social contacts, and social activities between divorced men and women with and without a partner are examined by means of ANOVA. Interesting is whether, apart from the main effects of sex and partner status, there is a significant interaction effect between sex and partner status. Subsequently, we analyze by means of cross tables and t-tests to what extent (ever) divorced men and women differ in background characteristics and explanatory factors. The hypotheses are tested by means of multivariate regression analyses for each of the three network characteristics and the two forms of social participation (for men and women separately). First, the various types of determinants are entered block-wise and separately in the analysis (e.g., in case of the block ‘personality’, only ‘extraversion’ and ‘emotional stability’ are included in the analysis). To assess the explanatory power of the types of determinants on the dependent variable, the proportion of explained variance for each block of determinants is shown. Furthermore, it is important which of the studied factors contributes most to the explanation of differences in network characteristics and participation, if the other types of determinants are also taken into account. Therefore, the standardized regression coefficients of the final equation, in which all determinants are included, are shown. In the analyses for network size, social contacts, and activities all 1795 respondents are included. The analyses for the proportion of family members and the proportion of new network members are on the 1480 respondents who mentioned at least one network member.

RESULTS

Differences in the support network and social participation

Table 2.1 shows that the support networks of divorced men and women with and without a partner differ in size, proportion of family members, and proportion of new network members. Sex and partner status both have an independent effect; the interaction effect of sex and partner status is only statistically significant for the proportion of family members in the network. The results indicate that single persons have larger support networks with a smaller proportion of new support providers than those with a partner. Men have less support relationships, a smaller proportion of family members, and a larger proportion of new relationships than women. The role of a partner relationship for the proportion of family members in the support network is different for men and women: for men, the proportion of family members increases with the availability of a partner, whereas among women, the proportion of family members stays more or less the same.

Regarding social contact and activities, we only find an effect for partner status. Divorcees with a partner have more frequent and more diverse contacts and are socially more active than single divorced persons. There are no sex differences in these aspects of social participation.

Table 2.1 Characteristics of the Support Network and Social Participation According to Gender and Partner Status: Mean and *F*-test for Main and Interaction Effect

	Men		Women		<i>F</i> _{sex}	<i>F</i> _{partner}	<i>F</i> _{sex*partner}
	Single <i>n</i> = 284	With partner <i>n</i> = 438	Single <i>n</i> = 584	With partner <i>n</i> = 489			
The support network							
- Number of supporters (0-10)	2.2	1.8	3.1	2.6	94.1 **	21.9 **	0.7
- % family members (0-100%)	32	39	45	43	16.3 **	0.4	4.2 *
- % new contacts (0-100%)	32	43	26	41	8.1 **	47.2 **	1.1
Social participation							
- Contacts (2-20)	11.0	13.2	11.5	13.3	0.2	146.4 **	1.8
- Activities (3-9)	6.1	6.2	6.0	6.3	0.0	9.3 **	2.3

p* < .05. *p* < .01.

With regard to the background characteristics and explanatory factors, we find many differences between men and women (Table 2.2). On average, men are higher educated and older than women. Men have relatively more often a new cohabitation relationship than women: 39% of the divorced men are single versus more than half (54%) of the women. In addition, men work more often and for more hours outside the home, have less often the care for children living at home, and have more income than women, which indicates that the

Table 2.2 Characteristics of (Ever) Divorced Men and Women

	Men <i>n</i> = 688	Women <i>n</i> = 1107	
<i>Background characteristics</i>			
Level of education (1-7)	4.5	3.9	**
Age (in years)	50.0	48.6	**
Divorce duration (in years)	12.7	13.2	
<i>Partner status</i>			
Living together with partner	61 %	46 %	**
<i>Present living situation</i>			
Paid employment			
- Unemployed	28%	43%	**
- Works 25 hours or less	7%	22%	
- Works more than 25 hours	65%	35%	
Care for children			
- No children living at home	68%	50%	**
- Youngest child younger than 12 years	21%	25%	
- Youngest child 12 years or older	11%	25%	
Net household income a month	3450	2687	**
<i>Marital characteristics</i>			
Division household tasks (5-25)	11.2	10.8	*
Division household income			
- Husband more than half	69%	69%	
- Wife at least half	31%	31%	
Overlap social contacts			
- Never without partner	35%	26%	**
- Sometimes/often without partner	65%	74%	
<i>Personality</i>			
Extraversion (6-42)	29.8	29.9	
Emotional stability (6-42)	31.0	28.6	**

p* < .05. *p* < .01.

living conditions of men are more favorable for maintaining social contacts than those of women. With respect to the characteristics of the marriage, men were more often in a marriage with a more modern division of tasks and a more overlapping marital network than women. This may possibly be due to sex differences in reporting about the marriage; men report a more equal division than women. Finally, according to these data men are emotionally more stable than women. Regarding the time past since divorce, the distribution of household income, and extraversion, we find no sex differences.

A multivariate explanation for men

Table 2.3 shows the results of the linear regression analyses for the three network characteristics and the two forms of social participation for men. Table 2.4 shows the results of the final equation in which all determinants are included.

Table 2.3 Determinants of the Support Network and Social Participation for Men: Proportion Explained Variance for Each Block of Determinants and for all Blocks Together

	Support network			Social participation	
	Number	% Family members	% New relationships	Contacts	Activities
	% R^2	% R^2	% R^2	% R^2	% R^2
1 Background characteristics ^a	6.4 **	4.5 **	16.5 **	4.6 **	8.1 **
2 Partner status	0.8 *	0.7	1.7 **	8.8 **	0.1
3 Present living situation ^b	4.3 **	3.0 *	1.9	10.4 **	4.7 **
4 Marital characteristics ^c	0.9	0.4	0.2	2.7 **	1.7 **
5 Personality ^d	0.8	0.7	1.0	1.8 **	0.8
6 All determinants	10.2 **	8.6 **	19.3 **	17.1 **	12.9 **

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

^a Background characteristics: divorce duration, age, and level of education.

^b Living situation: no versus part-time work, no versus full-time work, no children at home versus children younger than 12 years of age, no children at home versus children of 12 years or older, and household income.

^c Marital characteristics: division household tasks, division household income, and overlap social contacts.

^d Personality: extraversion en emotional stability.

With regard to network size, we find that the inclusion of background characteristics, partner status, and characteristics of the present living situation provides a significant contribution to the proportion of explained variance, with the background characteristics making the highest contribution. When all factors are taken into account (Table 2.4), the contribution of personality characteristics is also important. Single men, men with a higher level of education, a part time job, a more extraverted and a less stable personality appear to have larger support networks.

Table 2.4 Determinants of the Support Network and Social Participation for Men; Full Model, Standardized Regression Coefficients

	Support network			Social participation	
	Number	% Family members	% New relationships	Contacts	Activities
	β	β	β	β	β
<i>Background characteristics</i>					
Age	-.08	.03	-.13 *	-.01	.01
Level of education	.16 **	-.22 **	.11 *	-.03	.28 **
Divorce duration	-.08	.00	.45 **	-.05	-.03
<i>Partner status</i> (without/with partner)					
	-.18 **	.06	.04	.24 **	.01
<i>Present living situation</i>					
Paid employment					
- Unemployed (ref category)					
- Works 25 hours or less	.08 *	-.03	.12 *	.07	-.01
- Works more than 25 hours	.07	.02	.08	.18 **	.00
Care for children					
- No children living at home (ref category)					
- Youngest child younger than 12 years	.06	.13 **	-.13 **	.05	-.04
- Youngest child 12 years or older	-.07	.08	-.03	.01	-.09 *
Net household income a month	.07	.01	-.13 *	.05	.05
<i>Marital characteristics</i>					
Division household tasks	-.04	-.07	.01	-.03	.02
Division household income	.02	.01	-.01	.00	-.01
Overlap social contacts	.02	-.03	.03	.09 *	.09 *
<i>Personality</i>					
Extraversion	.09 *	.05	.03	.10 *	.09 *
Emotional stability	-.09 *	.06	-.02	.01	.02
% R^2	10.2	8.6	19.3	17.1	12.9

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

We find a similar result for the proportion of family members in the network. Here too, the contribution of the background characteristics is relatively large, followed by the characteristics of the living situation. A larger family network is likely to be found among those with a lower level of education and with young children living at home.

Differences in the proportion of new relationships are for a relatively large part explained by background characteristics and, to a lesser degree, by partner status. In the final equation, partner status does not play a significant role anymore, while characteristics of the living situation prove to be important. The number of new contacts after divorce is greater among younger men, among men with a higher level of education, whose divorce is longer in the past, who have a part time job, who do not have the care for young children, and who have less income available.

Whether a person maintains regular social contacts with various types of relationships is affected by all characteristics under study, but particularly by partner status and characteristics of the living situation. After inclusion of all factors at the same time, the background characteristics prove no longer significant. Presence of a partner, having a full time job, less overlap of the social contacts during the marriage, and a more extraverted personality contribute to frequent contacts.

Participating in social activities is related, with the exception of partner status and personality, to all characteristics studied and in particular to background characteristics. Highly educated men, those without children living at home (as compared to those with older children living at home), those with less overlap in social contacts during the marriage, and those with an extraverted personality are more likely to participate in social activities.

A multivariate explanation for women

Tables 2.5 and 2.6 show the results of the regression analyses for women. Regarding the number of support relationships, we observe that the inclusion of each group of determinants provides a significant contribution to the proportion of explained variance. The most important determinants for differences in number of support relationships are background characteristics and present living situation. When all factors are taken into account, women tend to have more support relationships when their level of education is higher, the divorce is shorter in the past, they do not live together with a partner, work part time, have a more extraverted personality, and when the marriage was characterized by a more traditional division of income.

Among women, the proportion of family relationships in the support network is related to background characteristics, living situation, and marital characteristics. The most important determinants are again background characteristics and present living situation. In the final equation, the contribution of marital characteristics is no longer of importance. Here, personality characteristics are significant. Networks with a higher proportion of family

members are more often found among women with a low level of education, who care for children of twelve years of age or older, and have an emotionally stable personality.

Just as among men, a greater number of new relationships is strongly related to background characteristics and partner status, but also to the present living situation and, albeit to a lesser degree, to marital and personality characteristics. Divorced women tend to have more new support relationships when they are younger, have a partner, have no children living at home, when their divorce is longer in the past, and they had a more modern division of income during their marriage.

Table 2.5 Determinants of the Support Network and Social Participation for Women: Proportion Explained Variance for Each Block of Determinants and for all Blocks Together

	Support Network			Social participation	
	Number	% Family members	% New relationships	Contacts	Activities
	% R^2	% R^2	% R^2	% R^2	% R^2
1 Background characteristics ^a	8.3 **	7.5 **	12.4 **	5.4 **	8.3 **
2 Partner status	1.5 **	0.1	4.3 **	7.0 **	1.0 *
3 Present living situation ^b	2.4 **	4.8 **	3.7 **	10.9 **	9.3 **
4 Marital characteristics ^c	0.8 *	2.0 **	1.2 *	2.7 **	1.0 *
5 Personality ^d	0.6 *	0.3	0.8 *	3.2 **	2.1 **
6 All determinants	12.8 **	10.5 **	16.9 **	16.3 **	15.4 **

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

^a Background characteristics: divorce duration, age, and level of education.

^b Living situation: no versus part-time work, no versus full-time work, no children at home versus children younger than 12 years of age, no children at home versus children of 12 years or older, and household income.

^c Marital characteristics: division household tasks, division household income, and overlap social contacts.

^d Personality: extraversion en emotional stability.

Among women, the frequency and diversity of contacts are primarily related to background characteristics, partner status, and the present living situation. However, when other factors are also taken into account, the background characteristics are no longer of importance. Table 2.6 shows that women more frequently participate in social contacts when they have a partner, work part time or full time, have the care for young children, had less overlap in social contacts during the marriage, and are more extraverted.

The degree of social activity of divorced women depends for a relatively large part on background characteristics and the present living situation. Women with a high level of education, whose divorce is relatively short in the past, who work part time, have no children living at home, and who have a higher income and a more extraverted personality, participate more often in social activities.

Table 2.6 Determinants of the Support Network and Social Participation for Women; Full Model, Standardized Regression Coefficients

	Support network			Social participation	
	Number	% Family members	% New relationships	Contacts	Activities
	β	β	β	β	β
<i>Background characteristics</i>					
Age	-.08	.04	-.12 *	.02	.09
Level of education	.26 **	-.22 **	.03	.04	.23 **
Divorce duration	-.09 *	.07	.34 **	-.05	-.09 *
<i>Partner status</i> (without/with partner)	-.13 **	-.03	.13 **	.20 **	.08
<i>Present living situation</i>					
Paid employment					
- Unemployed (ref category)					
- Works 25 hours or less	.08 *	-.06	.04	.17 **	.10 *
- Works more than 25 hours	.00	-.06	.05	.11 **	.02
Care for children					
- No children living at home (ref category)					
- Youngest child younger than 12 years	-.03	.03	-.12 *	.08 *	-.09 *
- Youngest child 12 years or older	-.02	.09 *	-.12 **	-.01	-.10 **
Net household income a month	-.01	-.07	.02	.07	.13 **
<i>Marital characteristics</i>					
Division household tasks	-.03	.01	.01	-.02	-.04
Division household income	-.08 *	-.03	.07 *	.02	-.00
Overlap social contacts	-.05	-.06	.02	.09 **	.03
<i>Personality</i>					
Extraversion	.09 **	-.05	-.04	.14 **	.09 **
Emotional stability	-.02	.09 **	-.07	-.02	.05
% R^2	12.8	10.5	16.3	16.3	15.4

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This aim of this study was to provide more insight into the differences in the support network and social participation of divorced men and women. We paid attention to characteristics of supportive relationships as well as social contacts and activities in a more general sense. The descriptive results show that sex and partner status are of importance for characteristics of the support network – both independently and in interaction with one another. The greatest differences exist between single divorced women and (ever) divorced men. Single women have support networks with the largest proportion of family members and the smallest proportion of new relationships. Single men have the least family members and men living together with a partner have the most new support relationships. With regard to social participation, there are only differences according to partner status and not to sex: those with a partner participate more frequently and in more diverse social contacts, and are socially more active than those without a partner.

We observed that the support networks of the divorcees are quite small. The mean number of support relationships was the highest for single women, namely 3.1 persons. The selection of the network identification method strongly determines the size and composition of the personal network (van Sonderen, 1991; Broese van Groenou & van Tilburg, 1996). Whether the support networks of divorcees in the Netherlands are small remains unclear, since there are no other studies using a comparable identification method. The best comparable study is the study on the core network of persons in the United States (Marsden, 1987). In this study, respondents had to answer only one question: “With whom do you discuss personal matters?” The results showed that this question also identified small networks (3 persons on average). In both the American and our own study the small number of support relationships identified can be attributed to the way the identification questions were formulated. It may be that our line of questioning laid too much emphasis on having personal problems and the need for help in performing all kinds of practical tasks. Possibly, the questions suggested a kind of ‘neediness’ that people did not recognize. This would explain why a number of respondents mentioned no network members at all and most respondents no more than two or three persons.

Contrary to our expectations, our data revealed that divorcees with a partner have smaller networks than divorcees who are single. This finding can largely be explained by the fact that the partner was not included in the identification method. When all ‘married’ respondents would have identified their partner in the support network, they would have had larger support networks than the single divorced. Our finding that single divorced persons have most support relationships suggests that many singles compensate the absence of the partner with another support relationship. Or the other way around, that those who live together with a partner have (or need) relatively few network relationships other than the

partner with whom to discuss one's problems and from whom one receives help in practical matters.

An important question in our study was the explanation of differences in support relationships and social participation among divorced persons. The explanation included a number of dimensions that are known to be related to the development and maintenance of personal relationships in general. The results indicate that nearly all dimensions studied are, in themselves, important for network characteristics and social participation. When all factors are taken together, a partner relationship, the level of education, the work and family situation, the overlap in marital networks, and an extraverted personality appear to be important determinants of the social functioning of divorced persons.

The level of education turned out to be an important factor for the number of support relationships, the proportion of family relationships in the support network, and social activities. The importance of the level of education is consistent with the results of many other studies (Campbell, Marsden, & Hurlbert, 1986; Lin, 1982). It reflects the differences in types of networks in different socioeconomic classes. Higher educated people have easier access to various resources and therefore larger networks with less family members. These differences in networks also prove to exist for divorcees.

Partner status seems particularly important for the frequency and diversity of social contacts. Entering into a new partner relationship seems thereby a way of gaining access to new social settings after a divorce. Among women, partner status also contributes to the proportion of new contacts in the support network. This suggests that women will sooner consider the new relationships they acquire through the partner as supportive than men. Men seem to acquire social contacts in a general sense through the partner that they do not directly count as members of their support network. The interrelationship between having a new partner and social functioning remains unclear. It is possible that persons who participate in more social circles will sooner enter into a new partner relationship (Kalmijn & de Graaf, 2000a).

The role of paid employment outside the home and the care for children living at home is important for some aspects of the support network and of great importance for social participation. A part time job seems to facilitate the development and maintenance of supportive relationships. Persons who work part time have a larger support network than those who do not work outside the home. Among those who do not have children living at home, the proportion of new relationships is relatively high, while those with children living at home mention more family members. These results indicate that working outside the home and caring for children living at home provide different types of relationship resources. These conditions primarily determine in which social circles one participates. This also explains the relatively large contribution of the work and family situation to the diversity and contact frequency of relationships and the participation in social activities.

The characteristics of the disrupted marriage that we studied played a limited role in the explanation of the support network, and proved to be slightly more important for the two forms of social participation. The results suggest that socially active behavior during the marriage (i.e. maintaining one's own social network) contributes to a higher level of social participation after divorce. The weak association between marital characteristics and network characteristics contradicts the idea that the dissolution of a more traditional marriage results in relatively small networks. Possibly, the marital characteristics studied (i.e. the division of household tasks, income, and social contacts) were no proper indicators of the degree of modernity of the marriage. We still consider it probable that the composition of the marital network largely determines how great the loss of contacts after divorce is. It is however possible that the effect wears off in the long run, making it impossible to trace in a cross-sectional study. For some respondents, the divorce had taken place a long time ago and, especially among those who remarried, the network could have changed so drastically in the mean time that the earlier marital network was no longer relevant. What remains is the result that persons who generally look after their own social contacts can enjoy the benefits of this behavior after a divorce.

The role of personality in the explanation of differences in social functioning among divorcees can be considered moderately important. The degree of extraversion proved an important determining factor for the number of support relationships and for social participation, which indicates that more extraverted persons are better capable of mobilizing support relationships and engaging in social activities in general. The positive relation between emotional instability and the number of support relationships among men suggests that instability is especially associated with a greater need for support relationships.

Although men and women differ in characteristics of the network, the living situation, the (disrupted) marriage, and personality, we only find small differences in the explanations of the size and composition of the support network. An exception is the division of income during the marriage. Among women, the fact that during the marriage they contributed just as much income as their partners or more, is associated with less support relationships and more new contacts. Among men, this fact does not play an important role for the size and composition of the network. This suggests that economic independence during the marriage generally facilitates the development of new relationships after divorce and that there is less need for supportive relationships.

We conclude that differences in social functioning of divorced men and women partly depend on the extent to which a person was capable of maintaining his/her own social relationships during the marriage. An extraverted personality also proves important. However, more important than personality and the social activity in the past are a person's structural conditions in the present. Factors such as having a partner, level of education, working outside the home, and the care for children living at home primarily influence the support

network and the degree of social participation. Social functioning after a divorce seems a matter in which personal and structural conditions in both past and present play a central role.

3 SUPPORT AFTER DIVORCE: A MATTER OF PERSONALITY?

E. L. Terhell, M. I. Broese van Groenou, T. G. van Tilburg (2001)
Nederlands Tijdschrift voor de Psychologie, 56, 166-176

ABSTRACT

Divorce is a major life event with great impact on the availability of personal relationships. This study aims to explain differences in the number of support relationships from divorce, remarriage, sex, and personality. In 1998, 2346 married and (ever) divorced men and women were interviewed as part of the survey “Divorce in the Netherlands”. Multivariate analyses show that remaining single after a divorce – by itself and in combination with sex and personality - is important for the number of support relationships. No differences were found between the remarried and the married. Personality contributes in a small but unique way to the explanation of differences in support relationships. Among the divorced as well as among married and remarried respondents, extraversion contributes to a greater number of emotional and instrumental support relationships. In all categories, emotional stability contributes to a smaller number of emotional support relationships. Among divorced single persons only, emotional stability contributes to a greater number of instrumental support relationships. To a certain extent, support seems to be a matter of personality, also after divorce.

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1960s, the number of marriages that end in divorce in the Netherlands has strongly increased. In the period between 1960 and 1985, the number of divorces rose from 6,000 to 34,000 a year (Tas, 1989). Since then, the number has more or less stabilized (CBS, 1990, 1995, 1999a). Recent estimates indicate that one in four of today's marriages will end in divorce (de Jong, 1999). To cope with the insecurity and stress involved in a divorce, people usually seek support in personal relationships. The presence of a network of relationships and the support exchanged therein are thereby important for coping successfully with the psychosocial effects of a divorce (Gerstel, Riessman, & Rosenfield, 1985; Smerglia, Miller, & Kort-Butler, 1999; van Tilburg, 1989).

Support relationships in the personal network after a divorce

International research into the social support networks of divorced men and women shows that over three quarters of divorced people seek support from their network members in the often difficult period after a divorce (Chiriboga, Coho, Stein, & Roberts, 1979; Nelson, 1995). During the same period, the number of supporters drastically reduces. Longitudinal studies show that in the first two years after the divorce, the personal network shrinks by more than 40% (Broese van Groenou, 1991; Rands, 1988). Within the contacts that remain – mainly relatives, friends, and acquaintances – the exchange of support increases in the period after the divorce (Miller, Smerglia, Gaudet, & Kitson, 1998; Spanier & Thompson, 1984). Divorced women have more supporters available than married women (Nelson, 1995; Tietjen, 1985).

We also know by now that men and women differ in the support they receive after divorce (Gerstel, 1988a; Gerstel et al., 1985; McKenry & Price, 1991; Milardo, 1987). In relationships of women more emotional and less instrumental support is exchanged, while in relationships of men the opposite holds true (Antonucci, 1990). Men leave the maintenance of social relationships often to their partners (Fischer, Sollie, Sorell, & Green, 1989), which becomes especially clear when they end up single. Research has shown that single divorced men have smaller personal networks than single divorced women (Dykstra & Liefbroer, 1998).

Support relationships in the personal network after remarriage

A new partner relationship may be an effective way to counter the negative social consequences of a divorce. A new partner provides access to a new circle of social relationships. But, more importantly, the (new) partner is often an important source of emotional and instrumental support (Dykstra, 1993). This makes a remarried person potentially less dependent on his/her network members for support than a divorced single. In the Netherlands, 75% of men eventually engage in a new, enduring, partner relationship (60%

remarry); for women this percentage is almost 50% (40% remarry) (CBS, 1999b; Liefbroer & Dykstra, 2000). Previous research (Renne, 1971; White, 1979) showed that the remarried, especially women, were less socially active than persons in their first marriage. The question as to what extent remarriage reorganizes the support network of divorced men and women, has thus far received little study.

Personality characteristics and support relationships

Thus far, explanations of differences in support relationships – in general and particularly after divorce – have primarily focused on restrictions in the social context, such as working outside the home or caring for children living at home (van der Poel, 1993; Terhell, Broese van Groenou, & van Tilburg, 2001b), and on restrictions in personal resources, such as finances and health (Gerstel, 1988a; Milardo, 1986). These social and personal conditions give an indication of the possibilities for maintaining relationships. Whether a person, given these conditions, actually devotes energy to the development or maintenance of social relationships depends more on individual needs and preferences. In general, but especially after divorce, people vary in the kind of support they expect from family members and friends; some feel the need to talk about all kinds of personal problems, while others primarily use their relationships to engage in social activities together (playing sports, having a night out, etc.). The way of coping with the divorce and the involvement of personal relationships in this process, seem therefore to relate to aspects of the personality. Developing and maintaining personal relationships presupposes a certain level of extraversion, a capacity to open oneself up to others, as well as a certain level of emotional stability, implying that one is able to cope with personal problems. Lang, Staudinger, and Carstensen (1998) found that older people with extraverted and emotionally stable personalities had relatively large social networks. Lang et al. (1998) did not find any empirical evidence for a link between extraversion and emotional stability on the one hand, and receiving emotional support on the other. However, it is conceivable that emotional instability is an indication of a level of personal problems at which there is a greater need for support from relationships. Research into the role of neuroticism (comparable to emotional instability) in everyday interpersonal problem situations and coping, shows that a high level of neuroticism is associated with seeking social support more frequently (Bolger & Zuckerman, 1995). Neurotic personalities more often experienced unwanted tensions in interpersonal relationships with family members and friends (Bolger & Schilling, 1991; David, Green, Martin, & Suls, 1997; Gunthert, Cohen, & Armeli, 1999). Possibly, the people around them react negatively to the chronic negative affect of neurotic personalities, resulting in a smaller number of social contacts. However, since (inter)personal problems occur more frequently with unstable persons, their need for support and thus the part of support relationships in their personal network may be larger.

This study aims to describe the size of the support networks of married, divorced, and remarried men and women in the Netherlands and to examine to what extent differences in the

number of support relationships are linked to differences in personality. To this end, we use the data on married and divorced persons, both remarried and single, which were collected for the research program “Divorce in the Netherlands” in 1998 (SIN98; Kalmijn, de Graaf, & Uunk, 2000). On a limited scale, the SIN survey collected data about support relationships in the personal network. Using these cross-sectional data, we will answer two research questions: (1) To what extent do married, divorced, and remarried men and women differ in the availability of support relationships? (2) To what extent can differences in the availability of support relationships be explained by (an interplay of) divorce c.q. remarriage, gender and differences in personality? Within support relationships, we distinguish between emotional and instrumental relationships. This distinction is made, because after a divorce the need for both types of support can be large. Emotional support can help a recently divorced person to deal with the loss of the partner and the problems one encounters in life as a single or when starting a relationship with a new partner. Instrumental support is often needed when divorced people, suddenly left to their own devices, find they could use some practical help in and around the house. We already know that a partner relationship often combines both types of support (Dykstra, 1993). Single divorcees will have to fall back on other network members for these types of support, in which case it is plausible to assume that support is received from several different persons. We therefore expect single divorcees to have more emotional and instrumental relationships than the married and remarried, who can fall back on their partners for these types of support.

Furthermore, we expect that sex affects the number of support relationships – both in itself and in combination with marital status. Our expectation is that single divorced women have the most support relationships, followed by married and remarried women, married and remarried men, with single divorced men having the least support relationships. We expect the differences to be larger for emotional support than for instrumental support, because women are generally more focused on mobilizing emotional support than on mobilizing instrumental support (Antonucci, 1990).

This study will explore the link between support received after divorce and two aspects of the personality: extraversion (as an indication of the inclination to open oneself up to others) and emotional instability (as an indication of the need for support in coping with the problems one encounters). We expect persons with a more extraverted personality to be better able to mobilize both emotional and instrumental support relationships. Emotionally unstable persons are expected to have more difficulty coping with personal problems and therefore to have a greater number of emotional support relationships than emotionally stable persons. As these problems will primarily involve emotional problems, emotional instability will influence the number of instrumental relationships to a lesser extent. There is insufficient evidence to suggest fundamental differences in personality between men and women. The study will therefore explore whether the explanation of differences in the number of

emotional and instrumental support relationships is different for men and women, by studying both the main and interaction effects of sex, marital status, and personality characteristics.

METHOD

Respondents

The data on married and (ever) divorced persons are from the study “Divorce in the Netherlands”, SIN (Kalmijn et al., 2000). SIN is a large-scale survey, conducted in 1998, in which 2346 persons participated. The sample was stratified based on marital status: 1) persons in their first marriage, 2) persons who are divorced (not more than once) and have not remarried, and 3) persons who remarried after their first marriage ended in divorce. The divorced are over-sampled. The sample was drawn from the population registers of 19 municipalities that were selected on their geographic location (the Northeastern, Western, and Southern region of the Netherlands) and degree of urbanization. Of all respondents reached (79%), 58 percent agreed to participate in the study. The final response ($79\% \times 58\% = 46\%$) did not vary significantly among the three groups (Kalmijn et al., 2000). The participating respondents were interviewed at home by trained interviewers. On average, the structured interview lasted an hour and a half. It included questions on the present living situation, the professional career, the characteristics of the partner (present and/or ex-partner), the relationship with the partner (present and/or ex-partner) at the time of the marriage, the settlement of the divorce, the relationships with children, the personal network, and personality characteristics.

Of the 2346 respondents, 551 were married and 1795 ever divorced. Of the 1795 divorcees, 927 had remarried (or were living with a partner) and 868 were single. The analyses in this article involve 990 men and 1356 women. In the total sample, the mean age is 49.0 ($SD = 10.5$; range = 28 to 85 years). The marriage took place between 1943 and 1997; for (ever) divorced respondents (single and remarried) the divorce had on average taken place 13.0 years ago ($SD = 8.5$; range = 0 - 49; $n = 1793$).

Measurements

Support network

The support network was identified with two questions. The first question identified the emotional support providers: “With whom did you discuss your personal problems in the past year?” The second question aimed to identify instrumental support providers: “Who helped you in the past year with practical problems such as cleaning, preparing food, odd jobs in and around the house, watering plants, and caring for children?” Answers were restricted to unpaid support. In answer to each question, a maximum of five persons of at least 18 years of

age could be mentioned (with first name and first letter of surname or initials). The partner was excluded, since mention of the partner would create a systematic difference between single persons and those with a partner. The mean number of emotional and instrumental support providers was 1.7 ($SD = 1.5$; range = 0 - 5) and 1.0 ($SD = 1.2$; range = 0 - 5) respectively. Because the same person could be entered as both emotional and instrumental support provider, the average of the total number of support providers is lower than 2.7, namely 2.4 ($SD = 2.0$; range = 0 - 10). In answer to the two questions, around 19% ($n = 443$) of the respondents mentioned no network members at all. On a number of characteristics, these 'networkless' respondents showed significant differences with respondents who did mention network members. The networkless are more often men, persons who are living together with a partner, persons with a lower level of education, a higher age, persons who are ever divorced and whose divorce is longer in the past.

Marital status

All (ever) divorced were asked whether after their divorce they had entered into a marital or a non-marital cohabitation relationship. Ever divorced respondents who at the time of the interview were living together with a (marital) partner, are classified as 'remarried', and ever divorced respondents who were single as 'divorced'. Respondents in their first marriage are classified as 'married'. In addition to the nominal variable for marital status (1 = in first marriage; 2 = previously divorced, now single; 3 = ever divorced, now remarried/living together), three dummy variables were constructed: 'marriage' (1 = in first marriage), 'divorce' (1 = previously divorced, now single), and 'remarriage' (1 = ever divorced, now remarried).

Personality

Two of the 'Big Five' aspects of personality were investigated (Goldberg, 1981; Gerris, 1998): extraversion and emotional stability. Both extraversion and emotional stability were measured by means of six characteristics. For each characteristic, respondents could indicate on a 7-point scale to what extent it applied to them. For extraversion, these characteristics were: 'reserved', 'quiet', 'introverted', 'talkative', 'bashful', and 'withdrawn'. The characteristics for emotional stability were: 'irritable', 'nervous', 'touchy', 'anxious', 'fearful', and 'high-strung'. After recoding and summation, a higher score reflects a more extraverted or stable personality. The range of the scales is 6 to 42. For both scales, Cronbach's alpha is 0.80. The average score for extraversion is 29.8 ($SD = 6.2$) and for emotional stability 29.5 ($SD = 6.3$).

Background characteristics

The control variables in the study are *age* (in years), the highest *level of education* (varying from 1 = primary education or less to 7 = university education) and *having children* (no/yes).

In addition, we take into account the number of years a person's network had time to develop. For example, the further in the past the divorce is, the more time has elapsed in which network relationships may have been broken or developed. Among the divorced, the *time elapsed since the last transition* was calculated as the time between the date they moved out to live on their own and the date of the interview, for the married and the remarried this was the time between the date they started living together with the (new) partner and the date of the interview.

Procedure

We analyzed differences in the number of emotional and instrumental support relationships, personality characteristics, and background characteristics between married, divorced, and remarried men and women, using eight 2 x 3 (sex by marital status) ANOVAs (the regression method). Where the main effect of marital status on network and/or personality characteristics proved significant, we supplementary performed a series of Duncan tests (which account for probability capitalization) to test the differences between the married, the divorced, and the remarried pair-wise. We were interested to see whether, apart from the main effects of sex and marital status, there was also a significant interaction effect. Where such an interaction effect existed, the pair-wise testing for differences between the married, the divorced, and the remarried was carried out separately for men and women.

We analyzed the impact of divorce, remarriage, sex, and personality on the number of support relationships by means of stepwise linear regression analyses of the numbers of emotional and instrumental support providers. In the first step, dummies for divorce and remarriage were entered, with the married status as the reference category. In the second step, the background characteristics were included in the analysis: sex, age, level of education, having children, and time elapsed since the last transition. In the third step, we added the two personality characteristics. In step four, we entered the interactions between the divorce and remarriage dummies on the one hand, and sex, personality characteristics, and time elapsed since the last transition on the other hand. In the fifth and final step, four three-way interactions between divorce c.q. remarriage, sex, and both personality characteristics were included. The variables that constitute the interaction terms of the fourth and fifth step of the regression analysis were centered around the mean. In this way, we prevented violation of the assumption of the independence of 'errors' of independent variables within the regression model. Since both 'age' and 'time elapsed since divorce' showed a relatively large range, we investigated whether there were any extreme cases. For both 'age' and 'time elapsed', we found extreme values. However, the results of analyses did not change essentially when these values were excluded. It was of crucial importance to observe to what extent the contribution of divorce and remarriage to the explanation of the number of support relationships decreased with each extension of the model. This is why for each step the beta coefficients of divorce and remarriage are shown. For each step, the increase in the proportion of explained variance

is shown, to see whether there is any improvement in the explanation of the variation in the number of support relationships. For the last step, the beta coefficients of all variables in the model are shown, to examine which of the studied factors contributes most to the explanation of the differences in the number of support relationships.

RESULTS

Differences between married, divorced, and remarried men and women

Figure 3.1 shows the mean number of emotional support relationships for married, divorced, and remarried men and women. There is a large sex difference ($F_{(1,2344)} = 111.7, p < 0.01$). In all groups, women have more emotional support relationships than men. There are also differences according to marital status ($F_{(2,2342)} = 39.6, p < 0.01$). Single divorced persons have the most emotional support relationships, followed by the remarried and the married. Of the three pair-wise comparisons, the difference in number of emotional support relationships between the married/divorced and remarried/divorced, but also between the married/remarried is significant ($p < 0.05$). There is no interaction effect of sex and marital status ($F_{(2,2340)} = 0.1, p > 0.05$).

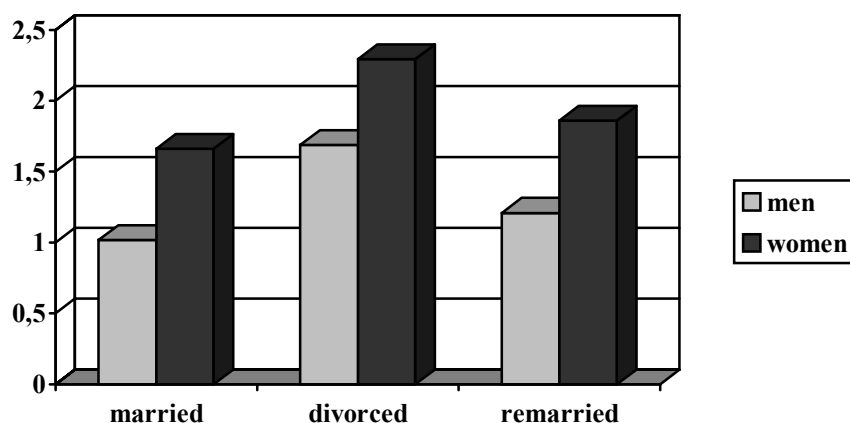


Figure 3.1 Number of emotional support relationships (Means)

As for the number of instrumental support relationships, there is no difference according to marital status (Figure 3.2; $F_{(2,2342)} = 1.6, p > 0.05$). There is a main effect of sex ($F_{(1,2344)} = 29.1, p < 0.01$) and a significant interaction between sex and marital status ($F_{(2,2340)} = 4.9, p < 0.01$). Women have more instrumental support relationships than men, but this mainly concerns the single divorced and, to a lesser degree, the remarried; there is no sex difference among the married. Pair-wise testing for men and women separately shows that married,

divorced, and remarried men do not differ in the number of instrumental support providers. Among women, the single divorced have more instrumental support relationships than the married ($p < 0.05$).

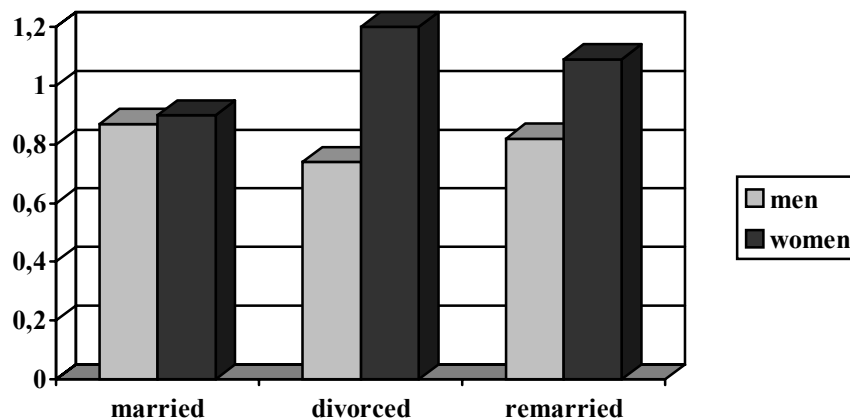


Figure 3.2 Number of instrumental support relationships (Means)

Table 3.1 shows the means for married, divorced, and remarried men and women on background characteristics and personality. On average, men are higher educated and older than women. The divorced are older than the remarried and the married, and the married have the lowest level of education. The majority of the respondents has children, but the divorced and remarried men the least often. Not surprisingly, the average time elapsed since the last transition is longest for the married: about 23 years. For both the divorced and the remarried, the last transition took place between 10 and 11 years ago. With regard to personality, we find a main effect of sex. Women are more extraverted and less emotionally stable than men, and this goes for all three categories of marital status. The main effect of marital status is also significant. In general, the remarried are the most extraverted and the single divorced the most emotionally stable. Pair-wise comparison shows that the remarried are more extraverted than the divorced ($p < 0.05$) while the married and divorced but also the married and remarried do not differ in extraversion. The three pair-wise comparisons for emotional stability showed no significant differences. There is no interaction effect of sex and marital status on personality.

Explaining differences in emotional support relationships

Table 3.2 presents the results of stepwise linear regression analyses of the number of emotional support relationships. The results of the first step indicate that the divorced ($\beta = 0.25$) and – to a lesser degree – the remarried ($\beta = 0.07$) have more emotional support relationships than the married. After entering the background characteristics in the second step, the contribution of divorce is somewhat reduced ($\beta = 0.18$) and the contribution of

Table 3.1 ANOVA – Means, Standard Deviations, and *F*-values of Background and Personality Characteristics for Married, Divorced, and Remarried Men and Women

	Means (<i>SD</i>)								<i>F</i> -marital status	<i>F</i> -sex	<i>F</i> -marital status*sex		
	Married				Divorced							Remarried	
	Men (<i>n</i> = 268)	Women (<i>n</i> = 283)	Men (<i>n</i> = 284)	Women (<i>n</i> = 584)	Men (<i>n</i> = 438)	Women (<i>n</i> = 489)	Total (<i>N</i> = 2346)						
Age (25-85)	49.3 (11.1)	47.5 (11.6)	51.4 (11.1)	50.5 (10.4)	49.1 (9.7)	46.3 (9.2)	49.0 (10.5)	25.5 ***	19.4 ***	1.9			
Education (1-7)	4.0 (1.8)	3.8 (1.7)	4.3 (2.0)	3.9 (1.8)	4.6 (1.9)	4.0 (1.7)	4.1 (1.8)	6.8 **	28.9 ***	2.2			
Has children	90% (30%)	90% (29%)	80% (40%)	86% (35%)	80% (40%)	86% (34%)	85% (36%)	8.5 ***	11.0 **	1.4			
Time since last transition (0-52)	23.2 (11.2)	23.6 (11.5)	10.1 (7.7)	11.9 (8.8)	10.8 (8.0)	10.3 (8.4)	13.8 (10.6)	408.2 ***	1.9	3.1 *			
Extraversion (9-42)	28.7 (6.6)	30.4 (6.1)	29.3 (6.3)	29.4 (6.4)	30.1 (6.7)	30.5 (6.2)	29.8 (6.4)	6.2 **	4.9 *	2.5			
Emotional stability (9-42)	30.5 (6.0)	27.7 (5.9)	31.2 (6.5)	28.8 (6.2)	30.9 (6.1)	28.4 (6.2)	29.5 (6.3)	3.4 *	96.5 ***	0.1			

p* < .05. *p* < .01. ****p* < .001.

remarriage has become statistically insignificant. The contribution of the two personality characteristics is small but significant (R^2 increases by 1%), and does not influence the weight of divorce in the analysis. The interaction effects in the two last steps do not improve the model significantly. In total, the proportion of explained variance is not high, about 17 percent.

Table 3.4 presents the results of the last step of the regression analysis, showing the relative weight of the various factors in the explanation of the number of emotional support relationships. Single divorced persons, women, higher educated, and young persons have a relatively high chance of having a greater number of emotional support relationships. As expected, extraverted respondents and respondents with low emotional stability have more support relationships. Among the married, those who were married for a shorter period of time have relatively more emotional support relationships.

Table 3.2 Regression of ‘Number of Emotional Support Relationships’

Model	Total $N = 2337$	ΔR^2	ΔF	df_1, df_2	Beta divorce	Beta remarriage
A	Marital status	.04	53.8 ***	2, 2334	.25 ***	.07 **
B	Background characteristics	.12	63.5 ***	5, 2329	.18 ***	.00
C	Personality	.01	13.4 ***	2, 2327	.18 ***	-.01
D	Marital status * sex Marital status * time since last transition Personality * marital status Personality * sex	.00	0.5	10, 2317	.19 ***	.02
E	Personality * marital status * sex	.00	0.5	4, 2313	.19 ***	.03

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Explaining differences in instrumental support relationships

The divorced have more instrumental support relationships than the married ($\beta = 0.07$; Table 3.3), and there are no differences between the remarried and married. Inclusion of the background characteristics results in an improvement of the model and reduces the effect of divorce to a non-significant contribution. The two personality factors contribute to a small

degree to the explanation, but do not influence the strength of the effect of divorce. In contrast with emotional support relationships, the two-way interaction effects do produce a significant improvement of the model. The three-way interaction effects add nothing to the model. The characteristics tested contribute only to a small degree to the explanation of instrumental support: the total proportion of explained variance is only 6%, and 5% is produced by the background characteristics.

Table 3.3 Regression of ‘Number of Instrumental Support Relationships’

Model	Total $N = 2337$	ΔR^2	ΔF	df_1, df_2	Beta divorce	Beta remarriage
A	Marital status	.00	3.3 *	2, 2334	.07 *	.04
B	Background characteristics	.05	23.0 ***	5, 2329	.04	.00
C	Personality	.00	3.6 *	2, 2327	.04	-.00
D	Marital status * sex Marital status * time since last transition Personality * marital status Personality * sex	.01	2.4 **	10, 2317	.03	-.01
E	Personality * marital status * sex	.00	1.7	4, 2313	.04	-.01

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 3.4 shows the final equation. Remarriage does not contribute substantially to the explanation of differences in instrumental relationships and divorce is only of importance in combination with sex and personality (respectively). The single divorced women have more instrumental support relationships than the married women, while the married men have more instrumental support relationships than the single divorced men (see also Figure 3.2). Young persons and higher educated persons have many relationships in which they receive instrumental help. Furthermore, extraversion positively contributes to the explanation of differences in the number of instrumental support relationships. Emotional stability is only of importance in interaction with divorce. Among the single divorced, but not among the married or remarried, there is a positive association between emotional stability and the number of instrumental support relationships.

Table 3.4 Standardized Regression Coefficients for ‘Number of Emotional and Instrumental Support Relationships’

		Emotional		Instrumental	
A	Marriage (reference category)				
	Divorce	.19	***	.04	
	Remarriage	.03		-.01	
B	Sex (man=1/woman=2)	.21	***	.10	***
	Age (25-85)	-.08	**	-.12	***
	Education (1-7)	.22	***	.11	***
	Having children	-.01		.02	
C	Extraversion (9-42)	.09	***	.06	**
	Emotional stability (9-42)	-.10	***	-.03	
D	Divorce * sex	.01		.10	***
	Remarriage * sex	.01		.05	
	Time since last transition for the married (2-52)	-.08	*	-.04	
	Time since last transition for the divorced (0-44)	-.04		.02	
	Time since last transition for the remarried (0-47)	-.01		.02	
	Extraversion * divorce	.01		-.02	
	Extraversion * remarriage	.01		.00	
	Emotional stability * divorce	.01		.06	*
	Emotional stability * remarriage	.00		.00	
	Extraversion * sex	.01		.00	
	Emotional stability * sex	.01		.02	
E	Extraversion * divorce * sex	-.02		-.01	
	Extraversion * remarriage * sex	-.02		-.02	
	Emotional stability * divorce * sex	.03		.05	
	Emotional stability * remarriage * sex	.04		.00	
R^2 adj.		.16		.06	
F (2313, 23)		20.8		7.0	

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study aims to provide insight into the size of support networks of married, divorced, and remarried men and women. The descriptive analyses show, as expected, that single divorced persons have more support relationships than persons in their first marriage and persons who remarried after divorce. The results suggest that many singles compensate the absence of the partner with other support relationships. Or the other way around, that those with a partner have relatively few network relationships other than the partner with whom to discuss one's personal problems and from whom one receives help in practical matters.

Whether our respondents' support networks are large or small can not be said. Results of different network studies are often hard to compare, because the network identification method used in a study strongly determines the size and composition of the personal network (van Sonderen, 1991; Broese van Groenou, & van Tilburg, 1996). In our case, there is a lack of studies using a comparable identification method. Closest comes a study into the core network of respondents in the United States (Marsden, 1987). In this study, respondents had to answer only one question: "With whom do you discuss important matters?". In answering this question, respondents mentioned on average three persons, which is twice as many as the average number of emotional support relationships in our study. In our study however, the partner was excluded from mentioning. Assuming that the network of emotional support relationships of married and remarried persons actually contains one person extra, the difference between the two studies diminishes. In addition, the small number of relationships identified can be explained by the way in which our identification questions are formulated. It may be that our line of questioning puts too much emphasis on having personal problems and a need for help. Possibly, persons with a partner do not recognize this need for help. This explanation is supported by the fact that about three quarters of the 443 respondents who mentioned no support providers at all, are married or remarried. All in all, the (international) comparability of network studies would be well served with the development of standardized protocols for gathering information about (support) networks.

Between men and women, there are clear differences in the availability of support relationships. Women have more emotional and instrumental support providers than men. Possibly, women seek support more actively or talk about their problems more easily with more network members. In comparison with married and remarried women, single divorced women have the most emotional and instrumental support providers. A comparison among the men shows a different picture. Divorced single men have the largest number of emotional, but the smallest number of instrumental support providers. After a divorce, women usually get the care for the children. If they don't have a new partner, divorced women seem to benefit – more than divorced men – from the mobilization of network relationships that can offer them help with all kinds of jobs round the house and looking after the children.

The multivariate analyses show that, after sex and education, divorce (without remarriage) has the largest impact on the number of emotional support providers. For the number of instrumental support relationships the role of being divorced (and single) is more complex because it also depends on a person's personality and sex. It is possible that the effect of being divorced (and single) disappears in the long run and is no longer traceable in a cross-sectional study. For some respondents the divorce was a very long time ago. Differences between the remarried and the married were not found, which can largely be explained by the fact that the (new) partner is the most important source of emotional and instrumental support. This suggests that remarriage will undo changes in the support network after a divorce, i.e. obtaining support from various sources. Longitudinal research is necessary to gain more insight into the role of divorce and remarriage in network changes after divorce.

In explaining the differences in the number of support relationships between the married, divorced, and remarried, we examined the contribution of two types of personality characteristics that are known to be related to the maintenance of personal relationships and seeking social support. The results indicate that these aspects of personality offer a small but unique contribution to the explanation of differences in support relationships. Extraversion appears, as expected, to be associated with a larger number of emotional and instrumental support providers. This type of personality characteristic seems to reflect the skills that are necessary to mobilize support relationships. In view of the operationalization of extraversion, characteristics such as 'reserved' and 'introverted' seem unfavorable for the maintenance of multiple support relationships. However, extraversion could also be an indication of a personal preference for a large or small number of support relationships. For some persons, and possibly these persons are the introverted personalities, one support relationship may be enough to feel good. Further research into the effect of extraversion on the link between support and well-being will have to answer these questions.

Emotional stability seems especially important for the mobilization and maintenance of emotional support relationships and not so much for the maintenance of instrumental support relationships. Emotionally less stable personalities seem to have more 'personal' problems (but not more 'practical' ones) or a greater need to discuss their problems with network members than emotionally stable persons do. This finding is in agreement with results of previous studies that state that a high degree of neuroticism is associated with seeking social support more frequently (Bolger & Zuckerman, 1995).

Interestingly, the women in the present study (regardless of their marital status) are less emotionally stable than the men. The results also indicate that women have more emotional support relationships than men. Despite these sex differences, the multivariate analyses show that the association between emotional instability and receiving emotional support is equal for men and women. It is therefore unlikely that women maintain more emotional support relationships as a result of their greater emotional instability. Turning to instrumental support, we find an interaction effect between emotional instability and divorce.

This seems to indicate that for single divorced persons (in comparison with persons in their first marriage) an instable personality is more likely to restrict the mobilization of instrumental support providers.

As support relationships are crucial for one's well-being, our results are important for psychological practice. Fokkema and Dykstra (2001) analyzed the data from the SIN survey in order to explain differences in depression between married and divorced women. They conclude that receiving emotional support has a positive effect on the well-being of married and divorced women. These women report less depressive complaints when they can discuss their personal problems with a relatively large number of persons. Our results indicate that single divorced persons, especially women, are in general capable of gathering persons around them who can replace the partner as an important source of support. However, more attention should be paid to the divorced persons who seem to be less successful at this: more introverted, emotionally unstable, single men.

We can conclude that the studied personality characteristics are of importance for obtaining support; this applies to the married, the divorced, as well as the remarried. To a certain extent, support seems to be a matter of personality, also after divorce.

4 NETWORK DYNAMICS IN THE LONG TERM PERIOD AFTER DIVORCE

E. L. Terhell, M. I. Broese van Groenou, T. G. van Tilburg (*in press*)
Journal of Social and Personal Relationships

ABSTRACT

This study first identified types of change in the size of the personal network in a period of 12 years following divorce. Second, differences in network change were explained by taking into account divorce characteristics, personal capacities, and structural conditions. Personal interviews were conducted in 3 waves of a 12-year longitudinal study with 40 men and 64 women who divorced in 1987 or 1988. Most divorcees experienced network losses shortly after the divorce and in half of the cases these losses were not compensated for in the later years after divorce. For some, divorce brought merely network gains, albeit in the longer term. Personal capacities and structural conditions did not significantly differ across subjects in different types of network change. Characteristics of the divorce (attitude toward divorce and conflicts with the ex-partner after divorce) partly explained differences in network change after divorce.

INTRODUCTION

Divorce is a life transition that is often associated with major changes in one's personal well-being. A large number of studies have described the psychological consequences of divorce and the ability of individuals to recover from the marital break-up (Amato, 2000; Kitson & Morgan, 1990). Divorce also involves a disruption of the personal network. Pools of available (supportive) contacts and opportunities for social interaction are likely to decline as the networks of ex-spouses are separated (Milardo, 1987).

Several studies reported on changes in relationships shortly after divorce. A common finding is that about half of the relationships in the pre-divorce network is lost within two years after divorce (Broese van Groenou, 1991; Rands, 1988; Spicer & Hampe, 1975). The losses mostly concern relationships that were shared with the former spouse, as in-laws and mutual friends. Since the few available longitudinal studies on personal network changes are restricted to the earlier years after divorce, little is known about the recuperation of these network losses. More insight is needed in the long-term course of changes in personal networks after divorce as psychological adjustment to divorce may be strongly associated with adjustment to the disruptions in the personal network (Hughes, 1988; Smerglia, Miller, & Kort-Butler, 1999).

The present study contributes to earlier network research by determining the course of network change over 12 years after divorce. The aim of the study is, first, to describe different types of change in the size of the personal network over the long term after divorce. Second, the study aims to provide insight in the determinants of different types of change in network size.

Types of change in network size

Studies on the psychological adjustment to divorce suggest that for some individuals divorce may represent a temporary crisis with heightened levels of stress during and following the separation to which people adjust within a few years. For others divorce may involve a source of chronic strains that leads to infinite periods of stress (Amato, 2000). We adopted these patterns to investigate part of the social adjustment, i.e. the reorganization of the personal network after the divorce. Network losses may extend either over a short or longer time period. Changes in the personal network may reflect crisis (temporary disturbance) or strain (long lasting burden). Yet, divorce may not always be accompanied by network decline. Some studies on network change found that growth in the personal network takes place after the divorce (D'Abate, 1993; Hughes, Good, & Candell, 1993). Albeck and Kaydar (2002) reported an increased availability of friends a few years after the divorce and suggested the existence of a period of "blossoming" of the network. This gain of network members may also be either temporary or long lasting. In addition to the network crisis and strain types we suggest that two other types of change may occur, i.e., the temporary and long lasting network

extension. Although divorce may involve network change over the short or longer term for many, we take into account that divorcees may have stable networks over time. Hence, we suggest that a network stability type may exist besides the four types of network change. In this study, we first examine whether the five types of change and stability in total network size can be identified. Since network losses and gains after divorce may not equally apply to all types of relations, we will also examine the change in the size of six partial networks (kin, in-laws, friends, acquaintances, neighbors, and colleagues).

Our study goes beyond a description of types of network change by examining why some individuals are faced with (persistent) social losses and others are able to keep or enlarge their networks after the marital break-up. We assume there are three types of determinants of network change; 1) divorce-related characteristics, 2) personal capacities, and 3) structural conditions.

Divorce characteristics

For most, divorce is a major life event. There is probably not “an easy way to divorce”, but the emotional impact and legal difficulties of the divorce process vary largely among divorcees (Kitson, 1992). For some, divorce may be an emotional and social liberation from a problematic marriage, for others it may be a very undesired and much regretted event. Many divorcees have conflicts with the ex-partner about divorce settlements in the first year after divorce, but for some these conflicts may take many years (Fischer, de Graaf, & Kalmijn, 2003). Negative feelings toward the divorce and preoccupation with conflicts regarding living arrangements and child custody issues, may defer one’s interest from maintaining personal relationships and may hinder the development of new relationships (Jacobson, 1983). Contacts with adult children may decrease when the ex-spouses are mixed up in long lasting conflicts (Kalmijn & de Graaf, 2000b). In contrast, a hard divorce may trigger close kin and personal friends to provide emotional and social support. A study by Thuen and Eikeland (1998) showed that persons who initiated the divorce, perceived themselves to be more integrated in personal networks and engaged in more social activities than persons whose ex-partner initiated the divorce. Non-initiators relied on a relatively large number of relationships for emotional support (Duran-Aydintug, 1998; Thuen & Eikeland, 1998). We hypothesize that positive aspects of the divorce, as indicated by being the initiator, having a positive attitude toward the divorce, or experiencing less conflicts regarding legal arrangements, increase the chances on the temporary or the long lasting network extension type. Divorcees with negative divorce aspects are more likely to be found among persons with a network strain or crisis pattern.

Personal capacities

Personal capacities to interact with others may be important in dealing with network changes after divorce. Personal preferences and needs as directed by one’s personality may determine

the actual investment of time and energy in different types of personal relations. In various studies characteristics of the personal network were positively associated with personality characteristics as extraversion (Lang, Staudinger, & Carstensen, 1998), emotional stability (Lang et al., 1998), and self-esteem (Smerglia et al., 1999). A stronger sense of self may make people less fearful of being different or inadequate, being rejected, or making a wrong impression, when dealing with old and new network relationships. Also, the inability to express one's emotions in a social context may make the initiation of social supportive interactions more difficult (Barbee et al., 1993). Self-disclosure was also found to be positively correlated to the degree to which persons thought that they could confide in network relations or turn to for help (Stokes, 1985). As emotional instable personalities seem to report more interpersonal stressors (Gunthert, Cohen, & Armeli, 1999), emotional stability seems to be a personal condition that reduces stressful interactions with network members and the need for network support.

We assume that divorcees with personal capacities, as extraversion, emotional stability, self-esteem, and emotional expressiveness, experience less difficulty in the mobilization and development of personal network relationships after divorce. It is expected that network changes of subjects with such personal capacities are more likely to be according to the crisis, temporary and long lasting extension types. Divorcees with few personal capacities may face more problems in the compensation of network losses, and are more likely to be found in the chronic strain type.

Structural conditions

Divorce is likely to affect one's structural conditions (moving to another neighborhood, economic hardships, sole parenting responsibilities) and thereby the opportunities and the time to invest in relations (e.g. Gerstel, 1988a; Moore, 1990). Structural conditions are likely to contribute to network losses after divorce. Moreover, they may restrict the development of new relationships, contributing as such to the existence of the network strain type. For the explanation of differences in network changes after divorce we assume that five types of structural conditions (a higher education, having a paid job, a partner, children at home, and residential mobility) are important.

Level of education is likely to be positively associated with network size (Campbell, Marsden, & Hurlbert, 1986; Moore, 1990). The higher educated may have more social skills and are, as such, better equipped for the use of various network ties, in particular with non-kin (Hall & Wellman, 1985; Kawachi, Kennedy, Lochner, & Prothrow-Smith, 1997). Having a paid job provides opportunities to develop friendships with and through colleagues, but restricts the time to invest in relations with kin and friends outside the work setting (Baruch, Biener, & Barnett, 1987). Many divorcees remarry in the first years after the marital breakup (Coleman, Ganong, & Fine, 2000; Uunk, 1999), and this may improve their opportunities for personal relationships. A (marital) partner provides easy access to new relationships with in-

laws and friends, and may increase the time and financial budget available for social interactions. The presence of (young) children at home may increase as well as decrease the opportunities to maintain relationships. Having children at home restricts the time to meet people outside the domestic circle (Munch, McPherson, & Smith-Lovin, 1997), but being restricted to the local neighborhood brings about more frequent interactions with neighbors and other parents (Campbell & Lee, 1990; Wellman & Wellman, 1992). Due to sole parenting responsibilities it may also be more difficult for the divorced to actively engage in social leisure activities. Finally, residential moves are common among divorcees and moving decreases the opportunities for face-to-face contacts with friends and former neighbors. However, as time passes and people get settled within their new neighborhood, relations with new friends and neighbors may develop (Larner, 1990; Magdol, 2000).

Demographic characteristics

Gender differences are known to exist in both post-divorce network characteristics and in their determinants. It was observed that men were more likely to interact in new and casual ties, including a new partner relation, while women tended to maintain and intensify contacts with relatives and intimate pre-divorce friends (Broese van Groenou, 1991; Gerstel, 1988a; Rands, 1988). With regard to gender differences in network determinants it was shown that women's structural resources were more likely to be restricted after divorce than men's (Poortman & Kalmijn, 1999). However, women differed positively from men in personal capacities that may facilitate the mobilisation and maintenance of contacts (Barbee et al., 1993) and aspects of the divorce (Petit & Bloom, 1984). We argue that aging may generally be associated with increased personal and structural restrictions which may reduce the capacity to develop or maintain relations.

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Respondents

Personal interviews were conducted from January till August 1988 (T1) with 150 respondents who participated in the study "Network changes after divorce" (Broese van Groenou, 1991). Subjects who divorced from either a married or unmarried cohabitation partner had been selected through lawyers, various divorce agencies and the media (advertisements in national and regional press and radio). Ex-partners of persons who were selected through these channels were also approached with a request to participate in the study. The total sample was composed of 41 ex-couples and 68 respondents who participated in the study without their ex-partner. The T1-interview took place on average 4.2 months after the divorce ($SD = 2.1$, with a minimum of 0.3 and a maximum of 10 months). The divorce date represents the day at which one of both ex-partners had left the (marital) home permanently. In the period from

September 1988 till May 1989 a follow up was carried out amongst 137 (91%) of the T1-respondents. On the average respondents had been divorced at T2 for a mean time of 1.1 years ($SD = 0.2$, range 0.7 - 1.5). Of the 13 T1-respondents who did not participate at T2, 6 had returned to their ex-partner. These respondents were excluded from the study because the ex-partners' networks are likely to be strongly interconnected and therefore not comparable to networks of divorced respondents who stayed single or started a new partner relationship. Of the other T1-respondents who did not participate at T2, three had moved and their new addresses could not be traced, and four refused further co-operation. In 1999 and 2000, T3 involved interviews with 104 respondents (76% of the T2-respondents). By then, the mean time that had passed since divorce was 12.1 years ($SD = 0.2$, range 11.6 - 12.6). Of the other 33 T2-respondents 3 had died and a total number of 17 respondents refused co-operation at T3 of which 10 felt that participation was too much of a psychological burden because it would bring back divorce related memories. Furthermore, 13 persons could not be contacted because they had either gone abroad (4), new addresses could not be traced (5) or people had unlisted telephone numbers and did not return a reply card (4).

The interviews, carried out by trained interviewers, lasted approximately 2 hours, and covered the personal network, the settlement of the divorce, the new partner relation, coping skills, psychosocial well-being and physical health. Data were analyzed from 104 respondents for whom network data were available at all three time points. Characteristics of the respondents are presented in Table 4.1. More than half ($n = 64$) is female. As T0 refers to the year prior to the divorce, age at T0 is the age that respondents had at 6 months before the divorce. On average, the respondents were 38.4 years old at T0 ($SD = 8.7$, range 23 - 64) and had been married to for 12.9 years on average ($SD = 8.9$, range 0.4 - 35.3). Seven respondents had not been formally married to their ex-partners, but had separated after co-habitation.

Table 4.1 Sample Characteristics ($N = 104$)

	T0	T2	T3
Age (SD)	38.4 (8.7)	40.0 (8.8)	51.0 (8.7)
With a paid job	71%	73%	75%
With partner	100%	23%	56%
Household composition			
- Single household	-	49%	39%
- Single-parent family	-	42%	15%
- Couple without children	34%	4%	22%
- Couple with children	66%	2%	23%
- Other adults (no partner)	-	3%	-

Using multivariate logistic regression, respondents who could not be contacted at T2 or T3 ($n = 16$), who refused to be interviewed at T2 or T3 ($n = 21$), and on whom data were available at all three time points ($n = 104$) were compared with regard to sex, age, total network size at T0, and T1-attitude toward the termination of the (marital) relationship. Compared to the respondents who refused co-operation at T2 or T3, the respondents on whom data were available at all three time points had a more negative attitude toward the termination of the (marital) relationship ($p < .05$). No differences were found between the respondents who could not be contacted at T2 or T3 and the respondents on whom data were available at all three time points.

Measurements

The personal network

The personal network was identified with the same delineation procedure at all observations. The first interview included a retrospective identification of the personal network in the year prior to the divorce (T0) as well as the network at the time of the interview (T1). Network members were identified by a combination of the exchange method (McCallister & Fischer, 1978; van Sonderen, Ormel, Brilman, & van Linden van den Heuvell, 1990) and the role relation method (Kleiner & Parker, 1976; van Sonderen et al., 1990). *The exchange method.* Persons with whom the divorced exchanged significant transactions were identified. Nine name generating questions were posed: “With whom do you discuss personal problems?”, “With whom do you discuss (problems at) work?”, “Who helps you and who do you help with household chores?”, “From whom do you borrow money and to whom do you lend money?”, “Who helps you with information about the settlement of the divorce or other formal matters?”, “Who do you join to go out or to drink something like a cup of coffee?”, “Who do you join to practice sports or a hobby?”. Respondents could identify a maximum of 10 persons in response to each of these questions. *The role relation method.* This method is used in addition to the exchange method to assure that the new partner, both parents, all siblings, and all children of the respondent that were aged over 18 years at the time of the interview were identified. Network size was counted as the total of network members identified by at least one exchange question or with whom a role relation exists. Broese van Groenou, van Sonderen, and Ormel (1990) reported test-retest reliability figures of 74% for the exchange method and above 90% for questions about role relations for members with fixed roles, e.g. first-degree relatives.

We distinguished eight partial networks on the basis of relationship type: (1) the ex-partner, i.e. the partner from whom the respondent divorced in 1987 or 1988, (2) the new partner with whom a relationship was initiated after the focal divorce, (3) kin including foster and step relationships, (4) in-laws including (step) family of the ex-partner and the new partner, and persons related by marriage of own family members, (5) friends, (6)

acquaintances, (7) (former) neighbors, and (8) (former) colleagues. The sizes of the partial networks were computed as the numbers of individuals in each of these relationship categories. The sum of the partial network sizes equals the total network size.

Divorce characteristics

Characteristics of the focal divorce assessed at T1 were initiator of the divorce, attitude toward the termination of the (marital) relation, and juridical settlement of the divorce. Respondents were asked “Who took the initiative of the divorce?”, and indicated whether the initiator was the ex-partner, the respondent, both (in consultation) or both (separately). The last three options were taken together. The attitude toward the focal divorce was indicated on a 5-point scale, ranging from *very negative* (1) to *very positive* (5). For the 97 respondents who separated from their marital partner the nature of the juridical settlement of the divorce was indicated on a 5-point scale, ranging from *very difficult* (1) to *very easy* (5). At T3 respondents were asked how often they had been in conflict with their ex-partner about the division of household furniture, about housing arrangements for themselves or their ex-partners, and about the place of residence of children or contact with children. Answers were categorized as never to seldom conflicts (0) versus often to very often (1). The “never to seldom conflicts” category of the question on conflict with the ex-partner about the place of residence of children or contact with children, also included respondents who did not have (younger) children with the ex-partner ($n = 43$).

Personal capacities

The expression of emotions in a social context is assessed at T1 by the emotional expressiveness scale of the Coping with Loss Questionnaire (Schut, de Keijser, van den Bout, & Jaspers, 1991). Respondents indicated on a 4-point scale, ranging from *seldom or never* (0) to *often* (3), for each of five emotional expressive coping strategies, how often in the past 4 weeks they had used this strategy. Cronbach’s alpha for the emotional expressiveness scale is .79. The mean of the summed scores for emotional expressiveness is 8.2 ($SD = 3.5$, range 0 - 15).

Self-esteem, defined as (dis)satisfaction with oneself, is assessed at T1 by a Dutch adaptation of the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Helbing, 1982; Rosenberg, 1965). Respondents indicated for 17 items on a 6-point scale the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with a judgment regarding the self. Scale scores range from 17 to 102. Cronbach’s alpha for the self-esteem scale is 0.88. The mean score for self-esteem is 70.8 ($SD = 12.9$).

From the “Big-Five”-aspects of personality (Gerris, 1998; Goldberg, 1981) two are assessed at T3: extraversion and emotional stability. Extraversion and emotional stability are both measured by six characteristics for which respondents indicated the degree of applicability on a 7-point scale. The extraversion characteristics are “talkative”, “introverted”, “quiet”, “reserved”, “withdrawn”, and “bashful”. For emotional stability these characteristics

are “anxious”, “irritable”, “touchy”, “nervous”, “fearful”, and “high-strung”. Scale scores range from 6 to 42. Cronbach’s alpha is 0.90 for the extraversion scale and 0.82 for the emotional stability scale. The mean score for extraversion is 29.8 ($SD = 7.6$) and for emotional stability 29.6 ($SD = 5.7$).

Structural conditions

Partner histories between the focal divorce and T3 were obtained retrospectively at T3 by asking whether one had been involved in one or more married cohabitations or unmarried cohabitations of 3 years or longer after the focal divorce. After the focal divorce 46 respondents were still without a partner at T3 (Table 4.1). Four of these singles had separated from a second marriage or cohabitation between T2 and T3. At T3, 48 respondents were involved in a new (marital) cohabitation, and another 10 persons were involved in a partner relationship but did not share a household. Only two persons were in their second (un)married cohabitation at T3. In the analyses partner status at T3 is used, indicating being involved in a partner relationship ($n = 58$) versus being single ($n = 46$).

Respondents’ educational level at T1 was on the average 12.5 years ($SD = 3.3$, range 6 - 18). Employment status was distinguished in employed (having a paid job at T0 and/or T3, $n = 90$) versus not employed (no paid job at T0 and T3, $n = 14$). A total of 28 respondents in the category “employed” changed employment status within the observation period. The presence of children in the household at T0 and/or T3 ($n = 84$) was contrasted with having no children in the household at all times of measurement ($n = 20$). Changes in the presence of children during the observation period were present for 59 respondents. We did not include variables that reflected change in employment status or the presence of children in the household as predictor variables because the tolerance of these variables in the regression analyses was too low, i.e. lower than .60. Residential mobility is operationalized as having moved at least once between T0 and T3. In the post-divorce period a total number of 88 respondents had moved at least once; 55 respondents moved between T0 and T2, and 73 between T2 and T3.

Procedure

We studied changes in network size between T0, T2 and T3. T1 was excluded because the time interval between divorce and T1 was only 4 months on average. Change in size was significant in case there was more than 10% difference in the number of network members identified at the previous observation. We used a proportional measure for change to account for the size of the network. An absolute measure would reduce the probability on change in smaller networks. The first quartile score of the T0-network size, 14, guided adopting the level of 10 percent. In this case, at least two network members should be added or lost for the smaller networks to assess the change as sufficiently reliable. Theoretically, nine patterns of change and stability in total network size over time can be distinguished: decrease, stability, or increase from T0 to T2 times decrease, stability, or increase from T2 to T3. We condensed

the nine possible network patterns into five theoretically interesting types (see also the introduction). Table 4.2 lists the names of the five types and the patterns that fit for each. The first type, stability, takes into account that the total network size has not changed; network size at T0 equals size at T2 and T3. Types 2 through 5 represent the hypothesized change types, respectively, the chronic network strain (combinations of network loss and stability at T2 and T3), network crisis (network loss at T2 and gain at T3), temporary network extension (network gain at T2 and loss at T3), and long lasting network extension (combinations of network gain and stability at T2 and T3). Analyses were conducted on respondents in the four types of network change. We excluded respondents in the stable network type because they were too small in number ($n = 3$).

Table 4.2 Types of Change in Total Network Size

		T0 - T2	T2 - T3	<i>n</i>
Types of change				
1	Stability	Stability	Stability	3
2	Chronic strain	Decrease	Decrease	13
		Decrease	Stability	16
		Stability	Decrease	11
3	Crisis	Decrease	Increase	30
4	Temporary extension	Increase	Decrease	15
5	Long lasting extension	Stability	Increase	6
		Increase	Stability	5
		Increase	Increase	5

ANOVA's and cross tabulation were used to examine differences between respondents of the four types of network change in demographics, divorce characteristics, personal capacities, and structural conditions. To explain differential probabilities on network change types multinomial logistic regression analysis was applied. The regression equation included demographic variables and explanatory variables (divorce characteristics, personal capacities, and structural conditions) that were significant at the .05 level in the bivariate analyses. We used this criterion for the inclusion of explanatory variables in the multivariate analyses because of the relatively large number of explanatory variables as compared to the number of subjects in our sample.

Table 4.3 Division of Subjects Across Types of Change for the Size of the Total Network and Mean Size of Total and Partial Networks Over Time for Subjects Within Specific Network Change Types ($N = 104$)

Types of change for total network size														
Chronic strain			Crisis			Temporary extension			Long lasting extension			Total		
T0 ≥ T2 ≥ T3			T0 > T2 < T3			T0 < T2 > T3			T0 ≤ T2 ≤ T3					
n = 40			n = 30			n = 15			n = 16			N = 104		
T0	T2	T3	T0	T2	T3	T0	T2	T3	T0	T2	T3	T0	T2	T3
Total network	18.7	15.4	13.0	19.5	11.9	18.7	14.9	19.4	12.0	11.6	13.2	16.2	17.1	14.5
Partial networks														
Ex-partner ^a	0.5	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.4	0.1
New partner	0.1	0.2	0.5	0.1	0.2	0.6	0.1	0.3	0.7	0.2	0.3	0.6	0.1	0.2
Kin	5.6	5.6	5.6	5.0	4.0	6.3	4.9	4.8	4.5	4.3	4.5	5.4	5.0	4.8
In-law	1.9	1.1	0.8	2.0	0.6	0.9	1.0	0.7	0.2	1.1	1.1	1.0	1.7	0.9
Friend	5.5	4.1	3.4	6.7	4.3	5.3	5.6	8.2	4.3	3.6	3.6	4.9	5.5	4.8
Acquaintance	2.9	2.3	0.9	3.3	1.5	1.8	1.3	2.8	1.5	1.3	2.4	2.1	2.5	2.1
Neighbor	0.9	0.8	1.0	1.2	0.6	2.2	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.3	0.4	1.3	0.8	0.7
Colleague	1.5	1.2	0.8	0.8	0.6	1.5	1.1	1.9	0.2	0.6	0.8	1.0	1.1	1.0

Note. $N = 104$ includes respondents in the network stability type.

^a The ex-partner, referring to the partner from whom one divorced in 1987/1988, was only included in the network when he/she was identified by the network exchange method.

RESULTS

Types of network change

The 104 respondents were divided over the five types of network change and stability as follows: 3% in the stability type, 38% in the chronic network strain, 29% experienced a network crisis, 14% had a temporary extension of the network, and 15% experienced a long lasting network extension. Table 4.3 shows the number of respondents assigned to the four types of change along with their longitudinal network characteristics.

Subjects in the chronic network strain type had a relatively large network prior to the divorce (18 network members on average), but lost about 5 network members in the post-divorce period. There was a decline in contacts with in-laws, friends, acquaintances, neighbors and colleagues between T0 and T2, and again (apart from neighbor contacts) between T2 and T3. The total number of friends, acquaintances and colleagues had been halved between T0 and T3. The number of kin in the network remained stable. The relative share of kin in the total network increased from 30% at T0 to 43% at T3.

Subjects in the crisis type faced a 39% decline in the total number of network members shortly after divorce, but in the long run their network size increased again to the T0-level. As the previous type, the crisis was found in networks that were relatively large prior to the divorce. The short-term loss of network members was generally found among in-laws, friends, acquaintances and neighbors. Decreases in numbers of kin and colleagues were relatively small. Between T2 and T3 relationships of all types increased in number, but the rise in total network size in the later years was mainly the result of the increase in numbers of kin and neighbors.

Subjects in the temporary extension type had a smaller network prior to the divorce compared to the first two change types; the average T0-size was 14.9. Their network increased with more than four network members to 19.4 at T2, but they lost over seven network members between T2 and T3. The increase was observed in the numbers of friends, acquaintances, and colleagues in the first year after divorce. At T2 the relative share of friends, acquaintances and colleagues in the network was 66%. The number of kin relations remained stable in the period between T0 and T2. However the shift toward non-kin relations was temporary because a relatively sharp decline in relationships with friends, acquaintances and colleagues was perceived in the later years after divorce. A sharp decline in the later years was also found in relationships with in-laws. Relatively few subjects in the temporary network extension type mentioned their in-laws as interaction partners at T3.

Subjects in the long lasting network extension type had small networks prior to the divorce; on average 11 network members. The network extension was largest in the later years after divorce when the total network size increased by 23% from T2 to T3 (3.0 network members). The extension of the total network after divorce resulted for a large part from the rise in the number of acquaintances in the short and the numbers of kin, friends, and

Table 4.4 Characteristics of Subjects in Different Types of Change for the Size of the Total Network: Demographics, Divorce Characteristics, Personal Capacities, and Structural Conditions ($N = 101$)

	Types of change for total network size					Chi ² / <i>F</i>
	Chronic strain	Crisis	Temporary extension	Long lasting extension		
	<i>n</i> = 40	<i>n</i> = 30	<i>n</i> = 15	<i>n</i> = 16		
<i>Demographic Characteristics</i>						
Women	50%	83%	47%	69%	10.1 *	
Age at T0 (range 23-64)	39.9	38.2	37.0	35.0	1.3	
<i>Characteristics of Divorce</i>						
Initiator: ex-partner (versus respondent alone or in consultation with ex-partner)	53%	33%	40%	38%	2.9	
Attitude toward termination of relation (range 1-5, negative-positive)	3.1	3.0	4.3	2.9	3.2 *	
- (very) negative	38%	40%	7%	38%		
- negative or positive	13%	3%	13%	25%		
- (very) positive	50%	57%	80%	38%		
Conflicts with ex-partner:						
- About division of household furniture	13%	10%	7%	44%	11.4 **	
- About housing	20%	30%	27%	31%	1.2	
- About place of residence of children or about contact with children	18%	30%	0%	31%	6.8	
Juridical settlement of divorce (range 1-5, difficult–easy)	3.3	3.1	3.3	2.4	1.3	

Personal Capacities

Emotional expressiveness (range 0-15)	8.1	8.7	8.5	7.7	0.4
Self-esteem (range 20-102)	69.2	72.3	76.2	67.3	1.6
Extraversion (range 11-42)	29.5	30.0	30.7	28.6	0.2
Emotional stability (range 10-41)	29.5	28.1	31.7	30.6	1.5

Structural Conditions

Education (in years) at T1 (range 6-18)	12.6	12.4	12.5	12.1	0.1
With a paid job between T0-T3	88%	83%	87%	88%	0.3
Having a partner at T3	53%	57%	73%	56%	2.0
Children at home between T0-T3	80%	73%	80%	100%	5.0
Moved between T0-T3	88%	87%	67%	94%	5.2

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

neighbors in the longer term.

Characteristics of divorcees in types of network change

Characteristics of the divorcees in the four network change types are listed in Table 4.4. Remarkable is the unequal distribution of men and women over the four types. Most women were in the crisis type and the long lasting extension type and most men were in the strain type and the temporary extension type. Differences between the network change types were also present with respect to divorce characteristics. In the strain, crisis, and long lasting extension types the subjects felt either (very) negative or (very) positive about the divorce, but in the temporary extension type most of the subjects (80%) evaluated the event as (very) positive. Conflicts about the division of household furniture were experienced by about ten percent of the subjects in the strain, crisis, and temporary extension types, but by almost half of the subjects in the long lasting extension type. Structural conditions did not differ across the subjects in the four types. The majority had paid employment, took care of children at home and had moved after the divorce. About half of the subjects in the strain, crisis, or long lasting extension type had a new partner, in comparison with three quarters of the subjects in the temporary extension type. Personal capacities were about the same for the subjects in all types. For an examination of within gender differences we compared men in the strain type ($n = 20$) with men in the temporary extension type ($n = 8$), and women in the crisis type ($n = 25$) with women in the long lasting extension type ($n = 11$). We found significant within gender differences only in characteristics of the divorce. Men in the strain type were more negative about the divorce than men in the temporary extension type ($F = 5.8$, $df = 1$, $p < .05$). Women in the crisis type experienced less conflicts about the division of household furniture than women in the long lasting extension type ($\text{Chi}^2 = 4.9$, $df = 1$, $p < .05$).

In sum, there were few statistically significant differences between the subjects of the four network change types. Notable is that positive divorce aspects, i.e., having a positive attitude toward the divorce and experiencing less conflicts, were most often found among subjects in the temporary extension type and least often among subjects in the long lasting extension type.

Regression results

Table 4.5 shows the results of the multinomial logistic regression of types of network change with the long lasting extension type as the reference category. Results of the regression analyses with respectively the crisis type and the temporary extension type as reference categories are presented in the text below. The model that was analyzed included demographics (i.e. gender and age) and the divorce characteristics that were significant in the bivariate analyses (i.e., the attitude toward the termination of the relation and conflicts with the ex-partner about the division of household furniture). The improvement brought about by the model of demographics and divorce characteristics was significant at the .001 level. The

results of the regression with the long lasting network extension type as the reference category indicated that subjects in the chronic strain as subjects in the crisis type were less likely to have conflicts with their ex-partner than those in the long lasting extension type. The largest differences were however found between divorcees with a temporary and a long lasting network extension. Subjects in the temporary extension type were more likely to be male, persons with a more positive attitude toward the termination of the relation and with less conflicts after the divorce. The analyses with respectively the crisis type and the temporary extension type as reference categories indicated that compared to the subjects in the crisis type, those in both the strain type (OR = 0.18, $p < .01$) and the temporary extension type (OR = 0.07, $p < .01$) were more likely to be male. Compared to the subjects in the temporary extension type, those in the strain type (OR = 0.39, $p < .01$) and the crisis type (OR = 0.34, $p < .01$) had a less positive attitude toward the termination of the relation.

Table 4.5 Multinomial Logistic Regression of Types of Change for Total Network Size: Odds Ratios and Likelihood Ratio Tests ($N = 101$)

	Types of change for total network size				Likelihood ratio tests
	Chronic strain	Crisis	Temporary extension	Long lasting extension	
	$n = 40$	$n = 30$	$n = 15$	$n = 16$	
	OR	OR	OR	OR	Chi ²
Sex (male/female)	0.34 ^a	1.85 ^{ab}	0.13 ^{bc}	1.00 ^c	15.1 **
Age at T0 (23-64)	1.06	1.04	1.00	1.00	4.0
Attitude toward termination of relation (range 1-5, negative-positive)	1.24 ^d	1.08 ^e	3.22 ^{def}	1.00 ^f	15.3 **
Conflicts with ex-partner about division of household furniture (no/yes)	0.14 ^g	0.16 ^h	0.06 ⁱ	1.00 ^{ghi}	9.9 *

$\chi^2(12) = 39.9. p = .000.$

Note. The Odds Ratios of the analyses with the long lasting extension type as the reference category are presented. Additional analyses were conducted with other reference categories. Differences between Odds Ratios with superscripts c, h, or i are significant at the .05 level, differences between Odds Ratios with superscripts a, b, d, e, f, or g are significant at the .01 level.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

DISCUSSION

Research on network changes after divorce pointed at the high prevalence of network losses shortly after the separation of the ex-spouses but did not reveal whether these losses could be compensated for in the longer term. In this study we were able to distinguish a variety of changes in network size in the earlier and later years after divorce. Four different types of network change proved appropriate for understanding social adjustment to divorce. The empirical evidence for different types of network change after divorce calls for several conclusions.

First, stability in the network after divorce hardly ever occurs. Nearly all divorcees experienced over 10% change in network size in the long term. Yet, we have to consider that the personal network is in general subject to change over time. Due to changing opportunities or dispositions of the focal individual and network members to maintain contact, there will always be changes in the number of network relationships (van Tilburg, 1998). The likelihood of network change may be higher in a longer observation period and after a major social event. Our study stresses the fact that divorce is an event with large social consequences; the personal network is very likely to change after divorce, either positively or negatively.

Second, some of the divorcees are able to compensate for the loss of network members in the long run, where others are not. The implications of persistent network losses are potentially quite serious as these losses may contribute to enduring periods of social distress (Ensel & Lin, 1991) and negatively affect the adjustment to the divorce over time (Miller, Smerglia, Gaudet, & Kitson, 1998). Why some experience a network strain, and others recover from the losses, is not clear from our data. The subjects in both types are comparable in structural, personal, and divorce related characteristics. Most remarkable is the unequal distribution of men and women over the two types. Chronically impeded personal networks were more likely to be found among men than women. Gender related differences in social investments and the degree of network overlap during marriage may be important in explaining the higher probability of males on the network strain type. More insight in gender specific network changes may be provided by subsequent analyses on the interdependency of network changes of both ex-partners before and after marriage.

Third, divorce is not always accompanied by network losses. About 30% of our sample experienced more network gains than losses in the first years after divorce and these persons were in one of the two “extension” change types. In particular relationships with friends and acquaintances were added to the network. For the divorcees for whom the gains were temporary, these types of relationships were lost again over the years. For the persons in the temporary extension type the divorce did imply network loss in the long term, because the network size at T3 was smaller than the average network size at T0. Only the subjects in the long lasting network extension type did gain in social sense in both the short and the long run. The divorcees in the latter change type may have adjusted to the divorce by a (delayed)

mobilization of network relations. Since they were more likely to perceive their divorce as problematic, they may have had a persistent heightened need or preference to be surrounded by (supportive) relations.

The question remains as to why the persons with the temporary extension drop in network size in the long run. It may be that the divorce is experienced as a social liberation for these subjects. Their change to being single again may have activated various aspects of social participation, as for example, participation in voluntary organizations, performing recreational activities with others, visiting bars, theaters, and taking up dating behavior. Since many of the subjects in this change type were involved in a new partner relationship at T3, their social outgoingness might have ended after getting involved in a new partner relationship. It may be the case that the new partner replaced the new relationships with friends, acquaintances and neighbors that were gained in the first years after divorce. What remains unclear, however, is the relatively low number of in-laws in the T3-network of this sub-sample. This suggests that the family of the new partner does not welcome the focal divorcee as the family of the first partner and it touches upon the social difficulties one may encounter in a second marriage. Alternatively, the divorcee may choose to invest less in relationships with members of the family in law after losing these relationships the first time around.

The outcomes of the multinomial logistic regression analyses suggest that contrary to our expectations, negative divorce conditions were not always associated with network losses, as present in the crisis or strain types. Divorcees in the network strain and crisis types felt either very positive or negative about the divorce. Divorcees with a long lasting extension of the network were most likely to experience conflicts with their ex-partner in the period after the divorce. A negative divorce evaluation may defer one's interest or absorb the time available for investments in network relationships for some and trigger the mobilization of supportive relations for others.

Our findings did not support the hypothesized role of personal capacities and structural conditions in determining network changes after divorce. We argue that the distinction of different types of network changes in combination with the small and relatively homogeneous sample may have contributed to the absence of significant results for the personal capacity and structural condition variables. Future longitudinal research in larger non-selective samples of divorcees may shed more light on the role of personal and structural characteristics in predicting network changes after divorce.

We observed strong gender related differences in changes in the number of network relations. Both men and women had short and long term disruptions of their networks but the presence and timing of losses and gains differed in the period after divorce. With regard to temporary changes we observed that for most men the return toward the pre-divorce network size is preceded by a temporary increased availability of relations whereas women are more likely to withdraw themselves before they start activating old and new contacts. Differential effects of divorce on social participation for men and women may explain why men were

more likely to be involved in newly developed contacts shortly after divorce. Earlier cross-sectional studies found isolating effects of divorce on neighborhood integration for men whereas divorce restricted women more with respect to their participation in outdoor (recreational) activities (Gerstel, 1988a).

Male was as female gender associated with both a “negative” and “positive” change pattern. Men were more in the network strain and temporary extension type, and women were likely to be in the network crisis and the long lasting network extension type. The more negative feelings about the separation from the (marital) partner and the loss of network relationships for men in the strain type may have mutually affected each other, even after the start of a new partner relationship. We suggest that the role of the (marital) partner in the organization of men’s networks may be important in the explanation of differences between men in both the attitude toward the divorce and the changes in the network after the divorce. Women in both the crisis and long lasting extension type were able to mobilize and develop relationships in the longer term. We suggest that the presence of many alternative relationships for women in the crisis type at the time of the divorce offered the opportunity to end relationships in accordance with one’s own preferences. The question remains as why women in the long lasting extension type had relatively small networks at the time of the divorce. Marital conflicts and network losses may have preceded the divorce for women in the long lasting extension type. Alternatively, women in the long lasting extension type may experience few losses because they shared relatively few relationships with the ex-partner during marriage. Future research on characteristics of the marital relationship and network changes that precede the divorce may provide more insight in differences between changes in the personal network of men and women after the divorce.

We recognize an additional limitation of the present study. The sample was too small to examine differences between various interesting sub samples such as subjects who divorced from a married versus an unmarried cohabitation partner. In the Netherlands, long lasting cohabitation has generally the same meaning as marriage. Cohabiting couples with a registered partnership are even completely comparable in legal sense. Yet, the cohabiting are likely to differ from married couples in network determinants such as age and the availability of children. Whether different factors contribute to network change over the long term for persons who divorced from a married versus an unmarried cohabitation partner is therefore a question that needs to be pursued in future research.

To summarize, changes in the number of relations in the long term after divorce varied largely. Network losses shortly after divorce were common and not always compensated for in the later years after divorce. For some, divorce brought merely network gains, albeit in the longer term. Personal capacities and structural conditions did not significantly differ across subjects in different types of network change. Characteristics of the divorce (attitude toward divorce and the presence of conflicts with the ex-partner after divorce) partly explained differences in network changes over the long term period after divorce.

**5 CHANGES IN CONTACT FREQUENCY WITHIN NETWORK TIES IN THE
EARLIER AND LATER YEARS AFTER DIVORCE**

E. L. Terhell, M. I. Broese van Groenou, T. G. van Tilburg (*submitted*)

ABSTRACT

This study explains changes in contact frequency within relationships of the pre-divorce personal network in the short and long term after divorce by taking into account general and divorce related characteristics of the individual and relationship. Personal interviews were conducted in 3 waves of a 12-year longitudinal study with 40 men and 64 women who divorced in 1987 or 1988. Multi-level analyses on 1639 network ties showed that multiplex and kin relationships remained over the long term. The impact of divorce related characteristics on change in contact frequency remains but seems to wear off over time.

INTRODUCTION

Divorce sets into motion a number of stressful events in various domains of life. Among those changes are fluctuations in the former partners' relationships with their family and friends (Milardo, 1987). Previous studies report that contact with about half of the pre-divorce network members was lost within two years after divorce (Broese van Groenou, 1991; Rands, 1988). These short-term losses mostly concerned relationships that were shared with the former spouse, as in-laws and mutual friends. The termination of these relationships was often ascribed to loyalty issues, vanished responsibilities toward the family in-law, and the break of contact with the former spouse (Spicer & Hampe, 1975). Contacts with own friends and family became more intense and were likely to provide the divorcee with various types of support (Albeck & Kaydar, 2002; Hughes, Good, & Candell, 1993; Miller, Smerglia, Gaudet, & Kitson, 1998).

Little is known yet about the long-term consequences of divorce on relationships. Changes in the social context of the recently divorced such as residential moves and seeking employment may only temporarily restrict the time to interact with network members in social activities. More persistent disintegrating processes and breaks of contacts may take place if network members disapprove of the divorce or take sides with one of the ex-spouses. The impact of the divorce on network relationships may attenuate after a more extended period of estrangement from the ex-spouse and when positive and negative aspects of the divorce are acknowledged and surrendered (Jacobson, 1983; Kayser, 1993). The present study contributes to earlier research by describing changes in relationships after divorce over a period of twelve years. The aim of the study is to describe and explain changes in contact with network members in the short and long term after divorce.

To explain contact changes within network relationships the study adopts a general theoretical model on behavior in which change in a relationship is defined as the outcome of a goal-oriented and deliberate decision to (dis)invest in a relationship. The model states that the decision to invest in a particular relationship is based on relationship characteristics, i.e. the costs and benefits of maintaining contact with the other person (Rusbult & Buunk, 1993). Whether one can actually invest in relationships depends on the personal and structural opportunities to interact with other persons (Fischer, Sollie, Sorell, & Green, 1989; Marsden, 1987; Milardo, 1986). In the explanation of changes in relationships in this study we distinguish between relationship characteristics and structural and personal restrictions that may affect the maintenance of contacts in general and in the specific situation after a divorce.

Explanation of change in relationships

Characteristics of the relationship

We expect that the decision to (dis)invest in a specific network relationship is based on

current, past, and future expected characteristics of the relationship. Individuals are more likely to maintain a relationship and increase the number of contacts when rewards of interactions in a relationship are higher and costs are lower (Blau, 1964; Homans, 1961). The following benefits and costs may be important during the decision to (dis)invest in a relationship either in general or specifically after divorce. (1) Homogeneity of the relationship. It has been postulated that people generally prefer contacts with persons whose personal characteristics are similar because these contacts make it more likely to have interesting conversations and common experiences (Milardo, 1988). We expect that respondents prefer the company of same sex persons, persons with the same partner status, and the same or a higher level of education. (2) Present costs of the contact, i.e., the amount of effort required to maintain the contact at this moment. After a divorce, people may withdraw from network members who are also in contact with the ex-partner or show signs of disapproval (Broese van Groenou, 1991; Spanier & Thompson, 1984). (3) Previous investments in the contact, i.e., the amount of time and energy that has been put into the contact so far. We assume that the size of the investment determines respondents' expectations for future benefits in the relationship (Rusbult, 1980). If the contact in the relationship was frequent before the divorce and if various types of supportive exchanges took place, it is expected that the relationship will change positively. (4) The "time horizon" of the contact in other words the likelihood that the relationship will still exist in the future. Relationships with family members are generally guided by norms of durable (supportive) interactions (Johnson, 1988). The time horizon of family relationships is therefore assumed to be large. The social norms within kin relationships may also apply to relationships with members of the family-in-law but to a lesser degree and only for the time of the partner relationship. We assume that after a divorce relationships with in-laws are likely to have a small time horizon as these persons are no longer connected to the focal person through the partner. Friends that were shared during marriage are up to make a decision to maintain contact with one or both the ex-partners. The time horizon of shared friends after divorce may therefore be smaller than the time horizon of own friends. It is assumed that a larger time horizon positively contributes to the decision to invest in the relationship.

Personal restrictions

We assume that contact in relationships with network members is more likely to diminish if the maintenance of the contact is complicated by personal restrictions. We examine three types. (1) Emotional inexpressiveness. The inability to express one's emotions in a social context may hinder the initiation of (supportive) interactions (Barbee et al., 1993). Divorcees are confronted with the loss of the partner as well as the loss of network members. It is likely that one will attempt to mobilize relationships to compensate for the loss of potential sources of support. Emotionally expressive persons are more likely to turn to network relationships for support (Terhell, Broese van Groenou, & van Tilburg, 2001a). We expect that a smaller

capacity to express one's emotions in a social context is associated with decreased contacts with network members. (2) Perceived restrictions. We assume that relationships with network members may be negatively affected if the focal person perceives personal or normative restrictions in maintaining contacts with others (Malo, 1994). Restrictions that apply to the maintenance of contact in general (having little self-confidence) and in the situation after a divorce (social disapproval for being divorced) are examined. (3) The evaluation of the divorce. A strong negative attitude toward (the consequences of) the break-up and conflicts with the ex-partner over divorce settlements may defer one's interest from maintaining personal relationships (Jacobson, 1983; Kalmijn & de Graaf, 2000b; Kitson, 1982). Overall, we expect that network contacts are more likely to diminish after a negative divorce experience.

Structural conditions

In order to invest in a relationship people need to have (access to) potential contacts as well as sufficient resources. Divorce is likely to affect one's structural conditions and thereby the possibility to maintain relationships. (1) The presence of alternative relationships offer the opportunity to end a relationship in accordance with one's own preferences. We expect that contact in relationships is more likely to decrease if the total number of relationships in the network before the divorce is large and if new contacts were developed after the divorce. (2) Access to potential contacts may be obtained through work and children. Contacts with friends at work or with other parents are affected relatively little by the divorce. Having a paid job or children at home is therefore expected to contribute to the maintenance of contacts after the divorce. (3) The maintenance of contacts requires resources as time and money. Many divorcees remarry in the first years after the marital breakup (Coleman, Ganong, & Fine, 2000; Uunk, 1999), and this may improve their opportunities for the maintenance of relationships. A (marital) partner increases the financial budget available for social interactions. Finally, residential moves are common among divorcees as one or both the ex-partners will leave the marital home. Residential moves may interfere with established relationships by increasing the traveling distance between the divorcee and the network member (Magdol, 2000).

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Respondents

Personal interviews were conducted from January till August 1988 (T1) with 150 respondents who participated in the study "Network changes after divorce" (Broese van Groenou, 1991). Subjects who divorced from either a married or unmarried cohabitation partner had been selected through lawyers, various divorce agencies and the media (advertisements in national

and regional press and radio). Ex-partners of persons who were selected through these channels were also approached with a request to participate in the study. The total sample was composed of 41 ex-couples and 68 respondents who participated in the study without their ex-partner. The T1-interview took place on average 4.2 months after the divorce ($SD = 2.1$, with a minimum of 0.3 and a maximum of 10 months). The divorce date represents the day at which one or both ex-partners had left the (marital) home permanently. In the period from September 1988 till May 1989 a follow up was carried out amongst 137 (91%) of the T1-respondents. Six respondents had returned to their ex-partner and were excluded from the study because the ex-partners' networks are likely to be strongly interconnected and therefore not comparable to networks of divorced respondents who stayed single or started a new partner relationship. Of the other T1-respondents who did not participate at T2, three had moved and their new addresses could not be traced, and four refused further co-operation. On the average respondents had been divorced at T2 for a mean time of 1.1 years ($SD = 0.2$, range 0.7 - 1.5). In 1999 and 2000, T3 involved interviews with 104 respondents (76% of the T2-respondents). Of the other 33 T2-respondents 3 had died and a total number of 17 respondents refused co-operation at T3 of which 10 felt that participation was too much of a psychological burden because it would bring back divorce related memories. Furthermore, 13 persons could not be contacted because they had either gone abroad (4), new addresses could not be traced (5) or people had unlisted telephone numbers and did not return a reply card (4). The mean time that had passed since divorce at T3 was 12.1 years ($SD = 0.2$, range 11.6 - 12.6).

The interviews at all three time points were carried out by trained interviewers, lasted approximately two hours, and covered the personal network, the settlement of the divorce, the new partner relationship, coping skills, psychosocial well-being and physical health. Data on relationships were analyzed from 104 respondents for whom network data were available at the three time points. Characteristics of the respondents are presented in Table 5.2. More than half ($n = 64$) is female. As T0 refers to the year prior to the divorce, age at T0 is the age that respondents had at 6 months before the divorce. On average, the respondents were 38.4 years old at T0 ($SD = 8.2$, range 23 - 64) and had been married to for 12.9 years on average ($SD = 8.9$, range 0.4 - 35.3). Seven respondents had not been formally married to their ex-partners, but had separated after co-habitation.

Using multivariate logistic regression, respondents who could not be contacted at T2 or T3 ($n = 16$), who refused to be interviewed at T2 or T3 ($n = 21$), and on whom data were available at all three time points ($n = 104$) were compared with regard to sex, age, total number of network members (i.e. network size) identified at T0, T1-attitude toward the termination of the (marital) relationship, and T1-attitude toward the consequences of the divorce. Compared to the respondents who refused co-operation at T2 or T3, the respondents on whom data were available at all three time points had a more negative attitude toward the termination of the (marital) relationship ($p < .05$).

Measurements

The first interview included a retrospective identification of the personal network in the year prior to the divorce (T0) as well as the network at the time of the interview (T1). Units of analyses in this study are 1639 of a total of 1781 ties with network members that were identified by the respondents ($N = 104$) at T0. Of the other 142 T0-network members 134 had died between T0 and T3 and for 8 the T0-contact frequency was missing.

The personal network

The personal network was identified with the same delineation procedure at all observations. Network members were identified by a combination of the exchange method (McCallister & Fischer, 1978; van Sonderen, Ormel, Brilman, & van Linden van den Heuvell, 1990) and the role-relation method (Kleiner & Parker, 1976; van Sonderen et al., 1990). *The exchange method.* Persons with whom the divorced exchanged significant transactions were identified. Nine name generating questions were posed: “With whom do you discuss personal problems?”, “With whom do you discuss (problems at) work?”, “Who helps you and who do you help with household chores?”, “From whom do you borrow money and to whom do you lend money?”, “Who helps you with information about the settlement of the divorce or other formal matters?”, “Who do you join to go out or to drink something like a cup of coffee?”, and “Who do you join to practice sports or a hobby?” Respondents could identify a maximum of ten persons in response to each of these questions. *The role-relation method.* This method is used in addition to the exchange method to assure that the new partner, both parents, all siblings, and all children of the respondent that were aged over 18 years at the time of the interview were identified (e.g. “Name all your siblings”).

During the first interview respondents reported for a maximum number of 35 network members identified at T0 and T1 about characteristics of persons (e.g. gender, level of education, marital status) and ties (e.g. duration of the relationship, contact frequency before and after divorce, contact with the ex-partner).

Changes in contact frequency of relationships

Frequency of contact was measured on an eight-point scale, ranging from *less than once a year contact* to *daily contact*. If no contact existed at the post-divorce time points the contact frequency was scored 0. Values were rearranged into the number of days of contact a year. Change scores range from -365 to +365.

Characteristics of the relationship

Types of previous investments in the relationship assessed were contact frequency and multiplexity of the contact in the year prior to the divorce. Multiplexity is measured as the number of different types of transactions that occurred in the tie, i.e., the number of times a network member is identified in response to the seven exchange questions. Immediate kin

relationships that were not also identified by the exchange questions were assigned a score of one point on the multiplexity scale. Homogeneity of the relationship was defined in terms of the network member having the same sex, the same or a higher level of education in comparison with the divorcee at T1, and the same partner status at T1. Two types of divorce related costs in the tie at T1 were examined. First, respondents reported whether network members were in contact with the ex-partner. Second, respondents indicated which network members disapproved of their conduct or the divorce per se. Four types of relationships indicate the time horizon of a tie: (1) the ex-partner and his or her (step) family, (2) shared friends and acquaintances, i.e. persons with whom the respondent had contact during marriage mostly in the presence of the ex-partner, (3) personal friends and acquaintances, i.e. persons with whom the respondent had contact during marriage mostly without the ex-partner, and (4) own family including foster and step relationships, and persons related by marriage of own family members.

Personal restrictions

The expression of emotions in a social context is assessed at T1 by the emotional expressiveness scale of the Coping with Loss Questionnaire (Schut, de Keijser, van den Bout, & Jaspers, 1991). Respondents indicated on a 4-point scale, ranging from *seldom or never* (0) to *often* (3), for each of five emotional expressive coping strategies, how often in the past four weeks they had used this strategy. Cronbach's alpha for the emotional expressiveness scale is .79. The mean of the summed scores for emotional expressiveness is 8.2 ($SD = 3.5$, range 0 - 15). Two items described (potentially) restrictive situations in the maintenance of contacts: "You have too little self-confidence in contacts with other people" and "People disapprove of you for being divorced." Respondents indicated for both items on a 4-point scale the extent to which the situation was a restriction for them. The attitude toward the termination of the (marital) relationship and the attitude toward the consequences of the focal divorce was indicated on a 5-point scale, ranging from *very negative* (1) to *very positive* (5). At T3 respondents were asked how often they had been in conflict with their ex-partner about each of three practical issues, i.e. the division of household furniture, housing arrangements for themselves or their ex-partners, and about debts or savings. Answers were categorized as never to seldom conflicts about these issues (0) versus often to very often conflicts about one or more of these issues (1).

Structural conditions

In the analyses employment status (having a paid job versus no paid job), partner status (having a partner versus being single), and children in the household (children present versus absent) at the post-divorce time points were used. Network size was the total of network members identified by at least one exchange question or with whom a role relation exists. The number of "new" ties in the post-divorce networks is obtained by distracting from the total

network size the number of ties that has also been identified at T0. Residential mobility at the post-divorce time points was distinguished in three categories: not moved, moved over five kilometers or less, and moved over more than five kilometers.

Procedure

The data set has a nested structure, i.e., for each subject the set of information contains the upper level information on individual characteristics and on a lower level the set of information about each of the different relationships. Multi-level regression analysis is applied to explain changes in contact frequency of relationships during each of the three time intervals. Two-level (relationships nested within respondents) analyses are presented. The study sample ($N = 104$) is composed of 19 ex-couples and 66 respondents of whom the ex-partner is not in the sample. As the ex-partners' networks are likely to be interconnected we also conducted three-level (relationships nested within respondents and respondents within couples) analyses. The three-level analyses provided the same results as the two-level analyses. Direct effects of characteristics of relationships, and respondents' personal restrictions and structural conditions on changes in contact frequency are examined. If possible, personal restrictions and structural conditions at the specific post-divorce time-points were included. Respondents' sex, age, and education are included in the regression equation as control variables. The ML3 statistical program for multilevel analysis is used (Prosser, Rasbash, & Goldstein, 1991). The analysis started with an empty model, the 0-Model, containing only a constant. Time (i.e. the interval between T0 and the post-divorce time points) was added (Model 1). Model 1 was extended with contact frequency at T0 (Model 2); relationship characteristics (Model 3); demographic characteristics of respondents (Model 4); personal restrictions (Model 5); and structural conditions (Model 6). The improvement from one model to another is indicated by the difference between the deviance of both models, which is Chi-square distributed with the number of added parameters as degrees of freedom.

RESULTS

Over time there was an increase in the number of network members with whom contact was lost or decreased (Table 5.1). About one quarter (26%) of network members that were lost at T2 ($n = 351$) were again in contact with the focal person at T3. Further inspection within different types of relationships shows that 84% of kin relationships, 22% of relationships with personal friends, 9% of relationships with shared friends and 27% of relationships with in-laws that were lost at T2 had increased in contact between T2 and T3. At T3 contact was lost with 54% of in-laws, 61% of shared friends, 49% of personal friends, and 3% of kin relationships.

Table 5.1 Relative Number of T0-Network Relationships With Lost, Decreased, Stable, and Increased Contact ($N = 1,639$)

	T0 - T1	T0 - T2	T0 - T3
% Lost	13	21	40
% Decreased	15	27	31
% Stable	54	30	15
% Increased	18	22	14

Table 5.2 provides descriptive information for characteristics of relationships and respondents. Contacts in the pre-divorce networks were on average about once a week at T0. Sixty percent of the contacts was with network members of the same sex and 65% with network members of the same or a higher level of education. One third of the pre-divorce network relationships were characterized by more than one type of transaction at T0. Equal numbers of pre-divorce relationships were with kin, shared friends, and own friends. About seventy percent of all respondents has a paid job in the post-divorce period and forty percent has children in the household. At T3 46 respondents were without a partner. Respondents generally hold a more positive than negative attitude toward the divorce and its consequences. Forty-three percent of the respondents experienced conflicts with the ex-partner about divorce settlements. At T1 24% of respondents and at T3 still 11% indicated that social disapproval for being divorced was a restriction for them in the maintenance of contacts. The pre-divorce network consisted on the average of 17.1 relationships. As compared to the longer period, respondents developed relatively many new contacts ($M = 5.84$) in the first year after the divorce. On the average the new contacts make up 9% of the T1, 40% of the T2, and 60% of the T3 network. Between T0 and T2 almost half of the divorcees had moved at least once and most of these moves were within five kilometers from the T0-place of residence. By the time of T3 the large majority of respondents had moved and again most of these moves were over less than five kilometers from the T0-place of residence.

Results of the multi-level regression of change in contact frequency are presented in Table 5.2 (estimates of fixed parameters in Model 6) and Table 5.3 (model parameters). On the average contact frequency did not change over time (Table 5.3, Model 1). The improvements brought about by adding contact frequency at T0 (Model 2) and relationship characteristics (Model 3) to the equation were significant for each of the three time intervals. Effects of regression towards the mean, i.e. decreased contact in relationships with a high contact frequency at T0 and increased contact in relationships with a low frequency at T0, were observed. The unique impact of structural conditions as represented by the improvement of Model 6 is significant only in the periods between T0 and T1, and T0 and T3. Adding personal restrictions (Model 5) did not offer a significant improvement.

The regression of change in contact frequency between T0 and T1 shows that contact is likely to increase shortly after the divorce if previous investments (multiplexity) in the

relationship are higher and costs (the network member is in contact with the ex-partner) are lower (Table 5.2). Homogeneity in partner status and the small time horizon for members of the family of the ex-partner and shared friends contributed to decreases in contact. Besides characteristics of the relationships, change in frequency of contacts was affected by the structural conditions and to a lesser degree personal restrictions of the divorced. Persons who were without a partner, moved over a distance of less than five kilometers from the T0-place of residence, and persons low in emotional expressiveness were less often in contact with their network members.

Results of the regression of change in contact frequency between T0 and T2 show that differences between relationships are for a relatively large part explained by previous investments (multiplexity) in these relationships and their time horizon. Residential moves within five kilometers from the T0-place of residence were still likely to be accompanied by diminished contact with network members.

Results of the regression of change in contact frequency between T0 and T3 show that contact is likely to remain or increase in relationships with own family members and those that were characterized by multiplexity and homogeneity in partner status. Compared to own family members, contact with personal friends was likely to decrease in the long term after divorce. Supplementary analyses with relationships with personal friends as category of reference indicated that decreases in contact in relationships with both in-laws ($B = -27.35, p < .001$) and shared friends ($B = -9.31, p < .05$) were still larger than in relationships with personal friends. Contact of the network member with the ex-partner contributed to increased contact in relationships in the longer term. Women, persons of a higher age, persons who felt less restricted by signs of social disapproval, and persons with children in the household were more often in contact with pre-divorce network members.

Taken together, the results for the three time periods indicate that the effects in the short and long term after divorce differed for some of the general and divorce related characteristics (of the relationship, the focal person, and the social context). Contact in multiplex and kin relationships is likely to remain both in the short and long term. Homogeneity in partner status seems to benefit contact in the relationship only in the long term after divorce. Different structural characteristics contributed to changes in contact frequency in the short term (availability of a partner, residential mobility) and long term (children at home) after the divorce. Divorce related characteristics remained to have an impact on changes in contact over twelve years by the effects of contact with the ex-partner (short and long term), time horizon (short term), and the perception of divorce related restrictions (long term). The negative effect of time horizon in relationships with personal and

Table 5.2 Multilevel Regression of Change in Contact Frequency: Descriptives and Unstandardized Estimates (R = Respondent; $N = 104$; Nwm = Network Member; $N \leq 1,639$)

	<i>M</i>				T0 – T1		T0 – T2		T0 – T3	
	T0	T1	T2	T3	<i>B</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>t</i>
Constant					27.40	1.6	60.85	1.9	42.76	0.4
Time (years)		0.36	1.07	12.09	-9.54	-0.8	-9.79	-0.7	-3.19	-0.4
<i>Characteristics of Relationships</i>										
Contact frequency (0-365 days/year)	60.85	50.17	42.77	24.54	-0.43	-26.7 ***	-0.63	-34.2 ***	-0.90	-54.8 ***
Multiplexity (1-6)	1.52				5.32	2.9 **	8.67	4.1 ***	7.95	4.3 ***
Homogeneity in sex (opposite–same)	60%				4.58	1.4	2.43	0.7	0.88	0.3
Homogeneity in education (Nwm lower than R–Nwm same or higher than R)		65%			-3.61	-1.0	-5.40	-1.3	-0.61	-0.2
Homogeneity in partner status (other–same)		29%			-10.86	-2.8 **	-1.22	-0.3	7.82	2.1 *
Contact between Nwm and ex-partner (no–yes)		35%			-12.18	-3.1 **	1.08	0.2	10.99	2.8 **
Disapproval by Nwm (no–yes)		7%			5.76	0.9	-9.74	-1.3	2.27	0.4
Time horizon										
- Own Family	30%									
- Family in law	10%				-68.67	-10.8 ***	-68.33	-9.5 ***	-58.80	-9.2 ***
- Shared Friends	31%				-14.09	-3.4 ***	-26.71	-5.6 ***	-40.76	-9.7 ***
- Personal Friends	30%				3.40	0.8	-1.70	-0.3	-31.45	-7.2 ***
<i>Demographic Characteristics of Respondents</i>										
Sex (male–female)	62%				-1.11	-0.3	1.34	0.2	11.42	2.4 *

	Age (23-64)	38.42		-0.15	-0.6	-0.55	-1.8	0.83	2.3 *
	Years of education (6-18)	12.49		0.31	0.5	1.43	1.7	0.24	0.4
<i>Personal Restrictions</i>									
Emotional expressiveness (0-15)		8.22		1.64	2.0 *	1.97	1.8	-0.65	-0.7
Lack of self confidence (1-4)		1.56	1.46	1.23	-0.3	-2.27	-0.6	2.86	0.7
Social disapproval (1-4)		1.35	1.23	1.12	0.8	-0.77	-0.1	-13.30	-2.0 *
Positive attitude toward divorce (1-5)		3.18	3.90	4.01	1.8	-1.69	-0.6	-0.02	0.0
Positive attitude toward consequences (1-5)		3.07	3.38	3.62	-1.4	-2.63	-0.9	0.67	0.3
Conflicts with ex-partner (no-yes)			43%	-6.04	-1.4	-3.10	-0.6	2.27	0.5
<i>Structural Conditions</i>									
Employment (no-yes)		67%	73%	75%	1.4	7.12	1.2	8.16	1.4
Partner (no-yes)		12%	23%	56%	2.4 *	4.80	0.8	0.27	0.1
Children at home (no-yes)		42%	44%	38%	-1.1	-5.24	-1.0	13.95	2.6 *
Network size (3-35)	17.13			-0.45	-1.2	-0.32	-0.7	-0.25	-0.6
Number of new network members		1.32	5.84	9.19	1.7	-0.31	-0.4	-0.99	-1.9
<i>Residential move</i>									
- Not moved		54%	52%	14%					
- Less than 5 kilometres		42%	44%	69%	-12.55	-15.42	-3.0 **	-3.71	-0.6
- More than 5 kilometres		4%	4%	16%	-13.85	-20.17	-1.5	-13.69	-1.5

p* < .05. *p* < .01. ****p* < .001.

shared friends increased over time. Contact with family in-law was most likely to decrease both in the short and long term after divorce. A negative divorce experience itself did not affect changes in contact.

Table 5.3 Multilevel Regression of Change in Contact Frequency: Model Parameters

	T0 – T1			T0 – T2			T0 – T3		
	-2LL	df	χ^2	-2LL	df	χ^2	-2LL	df	χ^2
0-Model	19028			19448			19950		
1 Time	19028	1	0.0	19448	1	0.1	19949	1	1.1
2 Contact Frequency									
T0	18414	1	614.2 ***	18574	1	874.0 ***	18254	1	1695.0 ***
3 Relationship									
Characteristics	18200	9	213.5 ***	18428	9	145.4 ***	18101	9	153.3 ***
4 Demographic									
Characteristics	18196	3	4.5 *	18423	3	5.5 *	18096	3	5.1 *
5 Personal Restrictions	18192	6	3.7	18418	6	5.1	18092	6	3.1
6 Structural Conditions	18169	7	22.8 **	18404	7	13.1	18078	7	14.9 *

Note. Deviance between the model and the data is indicated by the -2 Log Likelihood.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

DISCUSSION

In this study the basic assumption was that people take a deliberate decision to change a personal relationship into a particular direction. We were able to indicate characteristics of the relationship that affected this decision as well as personal and structural conditions under which the decision was made in the short and long term after the divorce. Our findings thereby stress the importance of both individual and relationship characteristics in the explanation of changes in relationships.

The present study shows that, compared to the longer term, many changes in network contacts take place in the short term after the divorce. These changes comprise not only a decrease or loss of contacts. The observed stability in mean contact frequency over the short- and long-term period implies that the loss of contact was counterbalanced by increased contact in other relationships. Also, for a considerable subset of relationships breaks in contact in the earlier years were followed by reinvestments in the contact in the later years after the divorce. These findings suggest that a disruption in network contacts shortly after the divorce is followed by a reorganization of contacts in the longer term.

Characteristics of the relationship played an important role in the decision to (dis)invest in network contacts in the short and long-term period after the divorce. Conform our expectations the research showed that a core of multiplex and kin relationships in the pre-

divorce network remained in contact with the focal person over twelve years after the divorce. The influence of multiplexity on the persistence of contacts suggests that investments in relationships during marriage “pays off” in the short and long term after a divorce. Opposite effects were found over time for homogeneity in partner status and contact of the network member with the ex-partner. Divorcees often remained in contact with network members who were involved in a partner relationship in the short term. In the longer term we observed an increase of contact within relationships that were homogenous with regard to partner status shortly after the focal divorce. As partner status of the pre-divorce network member was measured only shortly after the focal divorce and could easily have changed over time we were not able to determine whether relationships that were homogenous in partner status shortly after the divorce were still homogenous after twelve years. The positive contribution of homogeneity in partner status in the long term indicates that divorcees were likely to remain in contact with network members who have also experienced a divorce or who had never had a partner. Contact in relationships with network members who were also in contact with the ex-spouse was likely to decline shortly after the divorce. These network members may withdraw from one or both the ex-partners in order to avoid loyalty conflicts. However, the finding that contact of the network member with the ex-partner benefited the relationship in the later years suggests that for some of these relationships the withdrawal was only temporary and that contact with the network member becomes again more intense after a longer time of separation of the former partners. Compared to kin, relationships with both shared and personal friends were likely to attenuate in the longer term. Types of (supportive) transactions other than during marriage may become important in contact with friends in the longer term after the divorce. Some pre-divorce friends and divorcees may therefore start to perceive their relationship as less rewarding or incompatible with their own needs (McKenry & Price, 1991). Future research should provide more insight in the interaction between both persons by studying the divorcee as well as his or her friend and taking into account changes in the type of (supportive) transactions after the divorce.

The study indicates that structural conditions were important in providing the possibility to invest in a relationship in the few months after and to a lesser degree in the long term after the divorce. A more favourable situation regarding the maintenance of pre-divorce relationships in the short term was observed among people who had not moved, or who had access to potential contacts through a new partner. Investments in pre-divorce contacts over the long term depended more on structural characteristics that were not affected by the divorce; Positive changes in contact were observed for women and older persons. Gender related differences in social investments during marriage and opportunities to develop new contacts after divorce may be important in explaining the higher probability for women on the maintenance of pre-divorce contacts. Whether differences in changes of relationships after divorce between people of different sex and ages result from the different roles (typical of different stages) in the life-course remains an issue for future research.

Our findings provide only little evidence for the hypothesized role of personal restrictions in contact changes. Regarding emotional expressiveness we found that persons with a stronger capacity to express emotions in a social context were more frequently in contact with pre-divorce network members shortly after the separation from the ex-partner. It seems that divorcees high in emotional expressiveness become more or sooner socially active, taking compensating measures for the recent loss of (potentially) supportive relationships. Signs of social disapproval for being divorced (probably from the pre-divorce network members) were still perceived after twelve years and restricted contact in pre-divorce relationships. Contrary to our expectations, a negative divorce experience was not associated with diminished or lost contact. This may be due to the fact that individuals who felt negative about the termination of the relationship with the ex-partner often felt positive about the consequences of the divorce and vice versa. Alternatively, the experience of a divorce may be more associated with support from network relationships or personal well-being after the divorce than with contact frequency in relationships (Amato, 2000).

Our findings suggest that the relative impact of divorce specific characteristics on changes in pre-divorce relationships wears off over twelve years after the marital break up. Divorce related characteristics played a large role in the short term through contact of the network member with the ex-partner and time horizon in relationships with shared friends and in-laws, and indirectly through changes in structural conditions (partner status and residential mobility) set in by the divorce. In the long term divorce related characteristics (contact of the network member with the ex-partner and social disapproval) still impacted on changes in contact but to a lesser degree. Factors that generally affect the maintenance of contacts as past, present and future benefits (multiplexity, homogeneity in partner status, and time horizon) in the relationship and sex and age of the focal person were more important in the longer term.

We would like to recognize limitations of the present study. First, whether the changes in contacts for divorcees in our sample are small or large is hard to assess because there are no longitudinal network studies over a long term with a comparable identification method. The selection of the network identification method determines what part of the personal network is mapped and thereby the (in)stability of the relationships identified (Broese van Groenou & van Tilburg, 1996). An identification method as used in this study that identifies many peripheral network members will show many losses and decrease in contacts in particular in an observation period as long as ours. In the absence of a control group we are also not able to determine whether the observed changes in frequency of contact are mainly due to the experience of a divorce or would also have been found in the absence of the divorce. Research that is based on samples of general populations also reports large turnover in personal networks over a longer time period (van Busschbach, 1996; van Tilburg, 1998; Wellman, Wong, Tindall, & Nazer, 1997). In the long term, a durable core of socially close ties as in our study tends to remain. Part of the contribution of our findings to earlier research lies in the

assessment of which relationships are likely to be lost over the longer term after a divorce. Second, our focus was on changes in contact in a fixed set of pre-divorce relationships. The number of new contacts in the network seemed unimportant for the maintenance of pre-divorce contacts. However, the question as “Who remains in the longer term?” may partly be explained by “Who replaces the lost contacts?” Subsequent parallel analyses on new relationships may shed more light on this matter. Third, we analysed data from a small and selective sample. The presence of many higher educated women in the sample may have contributed to an overestimation of large unstable networks given the positive correlation between network size with women and education that was found in previous investigations (Moore, 1990).

To conclude, the decision to (dis)invest in a relationship after a divorce seems to depend on characteristics of the relationship, structural conditions and to a lesser degree personal restrictions of the individual, that are specific to the situation after a divorce in the short and more general in the longer term. The impact of divorce related characteristics on change in contact within pre-divorce relationships remains but seems to wear off over time.

6 DISCUSSION

SUMMARY OF THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL DESIGN

This thesis described and explained changes in personal networks after divorce. The central question in the explanation was why some individuals are faced with social losses and others are able to keep or enlarge their networks. Changes in personal network relationships were explained by personal and structural conditions of the individual in the past and present to develop and maintain relationships and characteristics of the relationship itself. The basic assumption was that people take a goal oriented and deliberate decision to change a relationship into a particular direction within the available opportunities to invest in contact with other persons. Whether a person decides to invest in a particular relationship within the possibilities available, was expected to depend on characteristics of the relationship, i.e. the costs and benefits of maintaining contact with the other person. Changes at the network level, i.e. changes in the number of (different types of) relationships in the network, were explained by opportunities to invest that depend on conditions of the focal individual. Changes at the relational level, i.e. changes in contact within relationships, were explained by both conditions of the individual and the relationship. The explanation included individual and relationship conditions to invest in personal network relationships in general and in the specific situation after a divorce.

Changes in personal networks were examined by means of data from two studies. First, we used data from the survey “Divorce in the Netherlands 1998” (further referred to as SIN98; Kalmijn, de Graaf, & Uunk, 2000) to examine differences in the networks of married and divorced men and women (Chapter 2 and 3). The SIN98 is a large scale study with a retrospective and stratified design. Stratification occurred according to the next categories of marital status: 1) persons in their first marriage, 2) divorced persons who were not remarried, and 3) divorced persons who were remarried. The ever-divorced are over-represented in the sample. The data contain information on the support network and social participation of respondents. Second, we used data from the panel study “Network changes after divorce” (further referred to as the Network Follow-up Study, i.e. NFS; Broese van Groenou, 1991) to examine changes in personal network relationships over a longer period after divorce (Chapter 4 and 5). The panel data were collected in three waves over a period of 12 years for 40 men and 64 women who divorced in 1987 or 1988. This chapter starts with a discussion of the main research findings and the general conclusions that can be drawn from the study, followed by a discussion of theoretical and methodological implications and directions for future research.

NETWORK CHANGES AFTER DIVORCE: SHORT VERSUS LONG TERM

One of the aims of the study was to compare the network changes in the short and the long term after divorce. In Chapter 4 we examined the long-term course of changes in the number of (different types of) relationships in the network. Previous studies have reported a high prevalence of network losses shortly after the divorce (Broese van Groenou, 1991; Hughes, Good, & Candell, 1993; Rands, 1988). In addition, some studies found that as time passes after the divorce new relationships are being developed and that the overall network grows in size (Albeck & Kaydar, 2002; D'Abate, 1993; Hughes et al., 1993). These findings suggest that network losses shortly after the divorce will be compensated for by gains in the long run. Using a longitudinal design, our study showed that the pattern of network changes is more diversified. Consistent with earlier network research we found that the majority of divorcees face a network decline in the early years after the divorce. Most divorcees recuperated from their network losses over the long term after divorce. Overall, many of the pre-divorce relationships had been replaced by new ones and some of the relationships that were lost shortly after the divorce returned into the network in the later years. For half of the persons in our study the divorce had been accompanied by temporary changes in the network. Whereas in most of these cases network losses in the short term were alternated by network gains in the long term the opposite pattern, i.e. gains followed by losses, was also found. Divorcees who faced a temporary network decline more often had a negative attitude toward the marital break-up than those with a temporary upheaval of the network. An adaptive resolution involves that positive and negative aspects of the divorce are acknowledged and surrendered by the ex-spouses (Jacobson, 1983). For those divorcees with temporary network losses, the working through of negative feelings toward the separation from the ex-spouse may have postponed their readiness to invest in new relationships. The majority of divorcees with temporary network gains evaluated the divorce event as positive. It seems that for these divorcees the divorce opened the way to new and casual relationships. For these divorcees the same types of relationships, i.e. those with friends, acquaintances, and colleagues, that were added to the network in the short term were likely to be lost in the long term. Since many of the divorcees in the temporary gain pattern developed a new partner relationship over time, it may be that the new partner replaced the relationships with friends, acquaintances, and colleagues that were gained shortly after the divorce. Our results support the notion of the network as a 'personal convoy' (Kahn & Antonucci, 1980), a flexible social environment that adapts to important changes in the life course. The experience of a divorce, especially when the separation from the former spouse is negatively evaluated, can limit the ability of the person to maintain contact with others but in the end most persons manage to rebuild their network of personal relationships.

In addition to patterns that were characterized by losing/gaining or gaining/losing, we found two other interesting patterns. First, we observed that for some the divorce brought

merely network gains, especially in the longer term. Since this pattern was mostly found among the persons with small pre-divorce networks, the observed increase in network size for these persons may indicate an effect of regression towards the mean. Otherwise, it is possible that these persons divorced from a problematic marriage and adjusted to the divorce by a mobilization of supportive network relationships. Conflicts with the (ex-)partner during marriage and a difficult preparatory phase to the divorce may have refrained these persons from investing in social relationships thereby contributing to their relatively small pre-divorce networks (Hansen, Fallon, & Novotny, 1991). This conclusion is supported by our finding that these divorcees were most likely to experience a difficult divorce and experienced a delay in the extension of their personal network.

The second interesting subgroup concerns the divorcees that had experienced only losses after divorce. For these respondents (28%) the divorce had long lasting negative social consequences. A previous study on ever divorced older persons has shown that these negative social consequences can last until late life, as the networks of older ever-divorced are smaller than the networks of older persons who remained married (Dykstra & Liefbroer, 1998). Our study, using a middle-aged sample, revealed that the persons with negative divorce experiences and those who do not remarry are in particular prone to experience these negative network changes, that may last until old age.

Based on the observed differences in the timing and presence of losses and gains between divorcees in this study we conclude that divorce does not have a general impact on people's personal networks. Most of the divorcees in the study managed to compensate for their network losses but the experience of a divorce may isolate some when they progress into late life, especially when they did not form a new family.

A MULTIDIMENSIONAL EXPLANATION

An important issue in our study was the explanation of changes in personal network relationships after divorce. The explanation included different types of factors that are known to play a role in the development and maintenance of personal relationships. The distinction of multiple factors proved important for the understanding of differences in characteristics of the support network and social participation between married and divorced persons and changes in personal network relationships over the long term after divorce. Overall, relatively much attention in the explanation was paid to the opportunities to invest in relationships that depend on the personal and structural conditions of the individual. Characteristics of relationships were also studied to explain why contact tends to remain in some and is likely to be lost in other relationships. Next, we discuss our main findings with regard to individual as well as relationship conditions.

Opportunities to invest

The divorce

In Chapter 3 we compared married and divorced persons to gain insight in the impact of the divorce itself on the network of supportive relationships. The findings indicate that divorce (without remarrying) positively affects the support network. The single divorced had more supportive relationships than persons in their first marriage and persons who remarried after the divorce. Part of the positive effect of the divorce can be attributed to differences in gender and education. Women and higher educated persons have relatively large support networks and were more likely to be found among the single divorced than those in their first marriage. However, also when these differences are taken into account single divorced persons have more supportive exchanges with their network members.

In Chapter 4 we examined whether characteristics of the divorce may be important in explaining differences in network changes in the period after divorce. Using the data of the longitudinal study we found that the evaluation of the divorce as indicated by the attitude towards the separation from the ex-partner and conflicts with the ex-partner on household arrangements, distinguished between various types of network change. A negative divorce evaluation contributed to network losses or delayed the recuperation of network losses considerably. Being the initiator of the divorce did not affect changes in the number of personal network relationships. Initiator status may be more associated with support from network relationships (Duran-Aydintug, 1998; Thuen & Eikeland, 1998) or personal well-being after the divorce (Wang & Amato, 2000) than with the mere availability of network relationships. Structural and personal conditions (other than divorce characteristics) did not significantly differ across divorcees in different types of network change. This suggests that the impact of divorce depends for a relatively large part on the personal evaluation of the divorce. In Chapter 5 we examined whether the divorce evaluation plays a role in changes at the relational level, i.e. changes in contact within relationships. Our focus was on changes in a fixed set of pre-divorce relationships. The findings indicated that the personal evaluation of the divorce did not affect changes in contact in these relationships. Hence, the evaluation of the divorce may be important for the development of new relationships after divorce but is not likely to influence the maintenance of contact with old (i.e. pre-divorce) relationships.

Remarriage

In Chapter 2 we compared single divorced and remarried persons and examined the extent to which remarriage is associated with changes in the social situation of the divorced. The results showed that the availability of a new partner was important for the frequency and diversity of social contacts and, to a lesser degree, the development of new supportive relationships. These findings suggest that remarriage improves the social situation of the divorced. A new partner may provide access to different social circles through which new

relationships may be developed. Kalmijn and Broese van Groenou (2003) showed that remarriage generally facilitates the return of social participation to the pre-divorce level but may restrict the participation in specific types of social activities and contacts such as the participation in clubs and contacts with family members. The results of the comparisons that also included persons in their first marriage in our study (Chapter 3) revealed that persons who remarried after the divorce had about equal numbers of supportive network relationships as those in their first marriage. This suggests that remarriage will undo changes in the support network after a divorce, i.e. obtaining support from more network members other than the spouse. Hence, whereas the level of social participation may generally rise upon remarriage supportive exchanges may be limited to fewer network members.

Structural opportunities

Explanations for differences in the maintenance and development of personal network relationships in general and after divorce in particular had mainly been sought in restrictions in one's social context (e.g. Gerstel, 1988a; Milardo, 1986; Moore, 1990). Consistent with the findings in earlier studies, we found that the current living and working situation of the ever-divorced are especially important in determining the social circles in which they maintain relationships (Chapter 2). Conditions as a higher education level, and a paid job seem to provide access to more and different types of social contacts and facilitate the development of new supportive relationships. The care for children restricts the opportunities to maintain relationships in different types of social circles and contributes to a higher proportion of kin relationships in the network.

Our study revealed limited importance of marital characteristics on the support network after divorce (Chapter 2). The results do suggest that social activity during marriage (i.e. the maintenance of own personal network relationships) increases social participation after divorce, but this may be a spurious effect as these divorcees may have been socially active in general (Kalmijn & Broese van Groenou, 2003). The social consequences of divorce and remarriage may distort the impact of marital characteristics as many years may have passed since the ending of the marriage. For this reason we controlled for time passed since marriage, divorce and remarriage in the analyses presented in Chapter 3. The results indicated that adjusted for these duration effects, the impact of structural characteristics was rather limited. It can be concluded that the type of marriage does not predict the social consequences after the break-up of the marriage, but panel data on married, divorced and remarried persons will expand our knowledge on this issue.

Personality characteristics

Besides an examination of the impact of structural conditions on personal network changes, we also looked into the impact of personality characteristics. The results indicate that characteristics of the personality contribute to differences in social functioning after divorce

(Chapter 2). Persons with an extraverted personality have relatively many supportive relationships and participate in many different types of social contacts and activities. A further exploration of the role of personality in determining the differential availability of network supporters indicated that extraversion contributes for married as well as single divorced, and remarried persons to large support networks (Chapter 3). This suggests that personality is in general important for the mobilization of network supporters, and also, but not in specific, after a major social event such as divorce.

Characteristics of the relationship

One of the issues dealt with in this study concerns the explanation of why some relationships remain in the network after divorce, whereas others do not. In Chapter 5 we tested an explanatory model that included both individual and relationship characteristics to predict change in contact frequency in personal relationships in the short and the long term. As could be expected, relationships with in-laws and persons who were also in contact with the ex-spouse were in particular prone to be lost in the short term after divorce. In the long term some of the relationships that were shared with the ex-partner were regained. Moreover, our results showed that other relationship characteristics were also important. The exchange of various types of support between the focal person and the network member and, in the later years, the absence of disapproval by the network member and the shared experience of a divorce benefited the maintenance of the relationship. Compared to structural and personal conditions of the divorced, characteristics of the relationship and pre-divorce investments in particular remained most important over the long term after divorce. The results indicate that it pays off to invest in social relationships during marriage.

Men and women

Our findings indicate that divorced men and women differ with respect to characteristics of their support networks (Chapter 2). Consistent with earlier studies (Broese van Groenou, 1991; Gerstel, 1988a; Rands, 1988) we found that men develop relatively many new supportive relationships after the divorce while women tend to maintain contacts with kin and pre-divorce friends. These differences may partly be attributed to the different structural context of men and women. The structural conditions of divorced men seem to provide access to larger social networks whereas the structural context of divorced women facilitates the maintenance of supportive contacts in the home situation and the local neighborhood. We also found gender differences in the patterns of network change after divorce (Chapter 4). Both men and women face network losses shortly after the divorce but for men these losses more often persist over the longer term. Why chronically impeded networks were more likely to be found among men than women is not clear from our data. Previous findings suggest that for men more than women divorce may involve a long term disruption of contact with children (Dykstra, 1997; Kalmijn & de Graaf, 2000b). The persistent strain of relationships between

divorced fathers and children may partly explain the higher probability among men on long term network losses after divorce. Alternatively, differences between men and women in the social adjustment after a divorce may be associated with traditional gender role prescriptions that suggest that men should be able to handle problems independently whereas women are allowed to depend on other persons. Stevens (1995) showed that in the adaptation to the loss of the spouse by death men often denied needing someone to discuss personal and daily matters or to do an odd job and preferred to solve their own problems. Whether some men mobilize fewer personal relationships in reaction to individual life crises because their gender role prescriptions prevent them from relying on others may be the topic of a future study.

TOWARD A MULTIDIMENSIONAL MODEL

In three of the chapters we examined a multidimensional explanation of changes in networks after divorce. We found substantial evidence for three types of factors (divorce, structural conditions, and personality characteristics). Notable is that within the sub-sample of divorced persons, the divorce characteristics proved to be most important, whereas structural and personality characteristics were most important in the comparison of married and ever-divorced persons. Although it was not possible to test the complete model in a sample with both married and divorced persons, we think that our results provided evidence for all three dimensions of the model. This model may also apply to explain network changes after another important life event, such as widowhood. Previous studies on the social adjustment to bereavement provided evidence for a similar change pattern as we found for some of the divorcees in our study, i.e. an upheaval of social contacts in the short followed by a decline in contacts in the long term (Ferraro & Barresi, 1982; Guiaux, van Tilburg, & Broese van Groenou, 2003). Differences in the impact of widowhood on social relationships partly depended on structural and personal conditions such as education and health. We suggest that the extent to which widowed persons are able to mobilize old or to develop new relationships over the long term may as in the situation after divorce also depend on the way that the event is evaluated and on characteristics of one's personality. Intense grief and mourning over the lost spouse and an introverted personality may initially lead kin and personal friends to provide support but may also refrain widowed persons from investing in relationships thereby contributing to social losses over time. The general conclusion is that personal as well as structural conditions in the past and present play a substantial role in the level of social functioning after important events, in this case divorce. When relationship characteristics are added, one may also be able to predict which relationships will remain in the network after divorce (or any other event) and which will not.

METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Samples

In order to test our hypotheses we used data from two samples, the SIN- and the NFS-sample. Both samples have positive and negative aspects which we will discuss below. The SIN-sample has several advantages: it is a large-scale, national and representative sample that includes first married, as well as divorced and remarried persons. The SIN-study is cross-sectional, but facilitates pre- and post-divorce comparisons by the inclusion of retrospective assessments of fixed periods such as the first five years of the marriage. Selection effects for the participation in social contacts can be taken into account. The differences between the (re)married and single divorced may partly result from the fact that those with less social skills are more likely to divorce or that those who are better in the development of new contacts are more likely to remarry. These selection effects although important received little attention in this study and remain an issue to account for in subsequent comparisons of married and ever divorced persons.

In contrast to the SIN-sample the NFS-sample is small and can not be considered representative for the divorced population in the Netherlands. However, for the sample of divorced persons in the NFS longitudinal data are available over an extended period of time. Since the NFS included a detailed identification of the network at all observations a unique data-set was obtained. Drawbacks are that the NFS did not include a control group of married persons and that the pre-divorce networks were retrospectively assessed. In the absence of a control group we were not able to determine to which extent the observed changes in the personal network can be attributed to the experience of a divorce. Contributions to earlier research that were obtained by the use of the NFS-data set are the identification of different patterns of network change as well as the explanation of changes at the relational level and the possibility to test a multidimensional explanatory model that includes characteristics of the divorce, and structural and personal conditions of the focal individual.

Together, the results of the SIN-study and the NFS offer a picture of the social consequences of a divorce. However, a further examination of a causal effect of divorce on the personal network in the future requires a large-scale longitudinal study on a representative sample of married and ever divorced persons.

Network delineation method

For the interpretation of data on personal networks one has to take into account that a specific part of the larger social network is delineated. Research interests determine which part is delineated.

The SIN-survey provided a restricted set of data on the network. Due to interview time constraints only those five persons with whom the respondent exchanged emotional and those five persons with whom the respondent exchanged instrumental support were identified; the

maximum number of network members identified was ten. Only a small part of the personal network was delineated, i.e. the core of supportive relationships. The partner was not included in the network and since the partner is usually an important source of support this may partly explain why single divorced persons had larger networks than married and remarried persons. To obtain a better indication of the level of social functioning measures were included on the frequency with which people participate in different types of social contacts and activities. The SIN-data suggest that the single divorced have lower levels of social participation than the remarried but receive relatively much support from their network members.

In the follow-up study the aim was to identify a broad and varied network so that the consequences of a divorce for the maintenance of different types of relationships could be assessed. Respondents were questioned about existing role relations and a large range of significant interactions. The networks that were identified consisted on the average of 15 persons. Within a personal network, a core consisting of close relatives and friends can be distinguished from a periphery consisting of network members contacted at infrequent intervals and distant relationships like casual acquaintances. The use of the exchange method resulted in the identification of both core and peripheral network members (cf. McCallister & Fischer, 1978; van Sonderen, Ormel, Brilman, & van Linden van den Heuvell, 1990). Previous longitudinal studies showed that losses and gains are generally likely to occur in these peripheral contacts whereas the core of close ties tends to remain over time (van Tilburg, 1998; Wellman, Wong, Tindall, & Nazer, 1997). With our identification method we were able to show that in the long term after a divorce most changes take place in the network periphery, whereas short term changes occur in both the core and the periphery of the network. We observed that shortly after the divorce relationships with core network members such as in-laws and shared friends were likely to be lost in spite of high pre-divorce investments in these relationships. The analyses at the network level suggest that new relationships are mostly peripheral contacts. The question of whether and which of these new contacts will enter the core of the network, i.e. become close friends will be the topic of forthcoming studies.

Collecting data from network members, including the ex-partner

In this study we analysed data that were collected from divorced (and married) persons themselves. However, to gain a picture of changes in relationships after divorce data should also be analysed from two other sources: the ex-partner and the network member. The follow-up sample includes 41 ex-couples and the comparison of their (network) data may shed more light on the division of shared friends and how the mutual dependency between the ex-partners for the maintenance of relationships during marriage affects both their networks in the period after the divorce. Data drawn from the network members may provide more insight into the considerations on their side as why contact with the focal divorced and the ex-partner is broken or not. During the first two observations in the follow-up study network members

were also questioned and many indicated that the choice for one of the ex-partners was inevitable because the maintenance of contact with both the ex-partners implied a doubling of interaction time (Broese van Groenou, 1991). Besides time constraints, disapproval of the divorce may play a role in the decision of the network member to break contact (Wilcox, 1981). Still other network members may withdraw when they perceive themselves as unhelpful to the divorced because they are not able to be there when needed (Duffy, 1993). When the network member actually decides to change contact in the relationship, the divorced person may also (re)consider further investments in the relationship. Future research may shed more light on questions as how both the divorcee and the network member affect each others' decision to invest in the relationship and how this may lead to change in the relationship over time.

THE AFTERMATH OF DIVORCE

This study originated from the previous observation that the period shortly after the divorce is characterized by social losses and that growth in the network takes place as time passes since the divorce. We found that with the passage of time most divorcees acquire new relationships. The findings in our study indicate that for some the divorce may involve a temporary network crisis. However, besides losses followed by gains, other network change patterns apply. The findings suggest that the ending of a problematic marriage may sometimes liberate the ex-spouses to maintain relationships with others. The findings also indicate that for some concerns about a long lasting isolating effect of divorce are warranted. Attention should be paid to the situation in which the divorced is not able to mobilize persons that can replace the partner as an important source of supportive exchanges. That is, in the situation that the ex-partners are entangled in negative feelings and dwelling conflicts about the settlement of the divorce, or when an introverted personality hinders or delays the formation of new relationships and a new partner relationship remains forthcoming. Although, the social functioning of persons who face a negative divorce experience may eventually improve it is advisable to take preventive measures. In the short term, the divorced person is likely to benefit from pre-divorce investments in own personal relationships. Contacts with kin and separately held friends are likely to maintain after the divorce and the support of these relationships can mediate adjusting to single life. In the long term a more favourable situation regarding changes in personal relationships requires that both partners have come to grips with negative feelings about the separation and reconciled themselves with adversary positions in regard to divorce settlements. To conclude, pre-divorce investments in own personal relationships and the breaking out of a continuing negative bond to the former spouse seem important to avert negative social consequences over the long term after a divorce.

SAMENVATTING

VERANDERINGEN IN HET PERSOONLIJKE NETWERK NA ECHTSCHEIDING

INLEIDING

Echtscheiding is een ingrijpende gebeurtenis die gepaard gaat met veranderingen in vele van de persoonlijke relaties van beide ex-partners. Naast het verwerken van het verlies van de partner door scheiding moet men leren omgaan met het verlies van vrienden en schoonfamilie. Heropbouw van het persoonlijk netwerk maakt dan ook deel uit van het verwerkingsproces na een scheiding.

Inzichten in de sociale gevolgen van een echtscheiding beperken zich tot op heden tot de korte termijn en zijn vooral afkomstig uit kleinschalige, soms kwalitatief georiënteerde, studies bij een selecte groep van respondenten (Albeck & Kaydar, 2002; Hughes, Good, & Candell, 1993; Jacobson, 1983; Spanier & Thompson, 1984). De onderhavige studie levert een eerste aanvulling op de bestaande literatuur door netwerkveranderingen op de korte en lange termijn te onderzoeken met longitudinale data van een kleinschalige selecte onderzoeksgroep van gescheiden personen. Een tweede aanvulling is gelegen in het vergelijken van de netwerken van gehuwde, gescheiden en hertrouwde personen met behulp van data van een nationaal representatieve steekproef. Het doel van het onderzoek is het beschrijven en verklaren van veranderingen in persoonlijke netwerken over de lange termijn na echtscheiding. Zowel veranderingen op netwerkniveau, i.e. veranderingen in het aantal relaties in het netwerk, als veranderingen op relatieniveau, i.e. veranderingen in het contact binnen de relatie, worden onderzocht. Centraal in de verklaring staat de vraag waarom sommige gescheidenen geconfronteerd worden met blijvende sociale verliezen, terwijl andere gescheidenen in staat zijn om hun netwerk te behouden of uit te breiden. De verklaring van veranderingen in relaties na echtscheiding in deze studie is gebaseerd op de theoretische notie dat netwerken de uitkomst zijn van individuele mogelijkheden in het heden en verleden om te investeren in relaties. In de verklaring gaat de aandacht vooral uit naar deze individuele gelegenheidsstructuur maar er wordt ook aandacht besteed aan kenmerken van de relatie die bepalen of het al dan niet aantrekkelijk is om te investeren in een bepaalde relatie. De algemene onderzoeksvraag van dit proefschrift is:

In hoeverre kunnen veranderingen in persoonlijke netwerkrelaties op de korte en lange termijn na echtscheiding verklaard worden vanuit persoonlijke en structurele mogelijkheden van het individu om in het heden en verleden relaties aan te gaan en te onderhouden, en vanuit kenmerken van de relatie zelf?

OPZET VAN HET ONDERZOEK EN DATA

Veranderingen in persoonlijke netwerken zijn onderzocht met behulp van data van twee studies. Ten eerste hebben we data gebruikt van het survey “Scheiding in Nederland 1998” (verder naar verwezen als SIN98; Kalmijn, de Graaf, & Uunk, 2000) om verschillen te

onderzoeken in de netwerken van gehuwde en gescheiden mannen en vrouwen (hoofdstuk 2 en 3). Het SIN98 is een grootschalige studie met een retrospectieve en gestratificeerde opzet. Stratificatie vond plaats naar de volgende categorieën van burgerlijke staat: 1) mensen in hun eerste huwelijk, 2) mensen die niet meer dan één keer gescheiden en niet hertrouwd zijn, en 3) mensen die na een scheiding van het eerste huwelijk hertrouwd zijn. De gescheidenen zijn oververtegenwoordigd in de steekproef. De data bevatten informatie over het steunnetwerk en sociale participatie van respondenten.

Ten tweede hebben we data gebruikt van de panel studie “Netwerkveranderingen na echtscheiding” (verder naar verwezen als de Netwerk Follow-up Studie, i.e. NFS; Broese van Groenou, 1991) om veranderingen in persoonlijke netwerkrelaties over een langere periode na echtscheiding te onderzoeken (hoofdstuk 4 en 5). De panel data zijn verzameld in drie metingen over een periode van 12 jaar bij 40 mannen en 64 vrouwen die in 1987 of 1988 zijn gescheiden.

NETWERKVERANDERINGEN NA SCHEIDING: KORTE VERSUS LANGE TERMIJN

In hoofdstuk 4 onderzochten we de lange termijn veranderingen in de omvang van het totale netwerk en van de deelnetwerken die onderscheiden werden op basis van type relatie. Voor de meerderheid van de gescheidenen vonden we een afname in netwerkvang in de eerste jaren na de scheiding. De meeste gescheidenen herstelden van hun netwerkverliezen over de lange termijn na scheiding. Over het geheel genomen werden veel van de relaties vanuit het netwerk van vóór de scheiding vervangen door nieuwe relaties en sommige relaties die kort na de scheiding wegvielen keerden terug in het netwerk in de latere jaren. Voor de helft van de personen in onze studie ging de scheiding gepaard met tijdelijke veranderingen in het netwerk. Hoewel in de meeste van deze gevallen netwerkverliezen op de korte termijn werden afgewisseld met netwerkwinsten op de lange termijn vonden we ook het omgekeerde patroon, i.e. winst gevolgd door verlies. Deze netwerkveranderingen bleken voor een deel samen te hangen met scheidingsspecifieke factoren. Gescheidenen die geconfronteerd werden met een tijdelijke netwerkafname hadden vaker een negatieve houding ten aanzien van de scheiding dan gescheidenen met een tijdelijke uitbreiding van het netwerk. Mogelijk heeft het doorwerken van negatieve gevoelens ten aanzien van de scheiding van de ex-partner de gereedheid om te investeren in nieuwe relaties uitgesteld voor de gescheidenen met tijdelijke netwerkverliezen. De meerderheid van de gescheidenen met tijdelijke netwerkwinsten beoordeelde de scheiding als een positieve gebeurtenis. Voor de gescheidenen met een tijdelijke netwerkuitbreiding lijkt het beëindigen van de relatie met de ex-partner de weg te hebben geopend naar nieuwe en losse relaties. Deze gescheidenen maakten nieuwe contacten met vrienden, kennissen en collega's, maar dezelfde typen relaties verdwenen na verloop van tijd weer uit het netwerk. Veel gescheidenen met een tijdelijke netwerkuitbreiding gingen in

de loop der tijd een nieuwe partnerrelatie aan. Mogelijk heeft de nieuwe partner deze tijdelijke relaties met nieuwe vrienden, kennissen en collega's vervangen.

Naast de patronen die gekenmerkt werden door verlies/winst en winst/verlies vonden we twee andere interessante patronen. Ten eerste zagen we dat voor sommige personen de scheiding alleen maar netwerkwinsten opleverde, vooral op de lange termijn. Gezien het feit dat dit patroon voornamelijk gevonden werd onder personen met een klein netwerk in de periode vóór de scheiding kan het zijn dat de waargenomen toename in netwerkomvang voor deze personen een effect van regressie naar het gemiddelde aangeeft. Het is ook mogelijk dat deze personen gescheiden zijn van een problematisch huwelijk en zich aan de scheiding hebben aangepast door een mobilisatie van ondersteunende netwerkrelaties. Conflicten met de ex-partner gedurende het huwelijk en een moeilijke voorbereidingsfase naar de scheiding kunnen deze personen ervan hebben weerhouden om in nieuwe relaties te investeren. Deze conclusie wordt ondersteund door de bevinding dat gescheidenen met een langdurige netwerkuitbreiding de grootste kans hadden op een moeilijke scheiding en een vertraging ervoeren in de uitbreiding van hun persoonlijke netwerk. De tweede interessante subgroep naast de netwerkpatronen waarin winst en verlies elkaar afwisselden, betreft de gescheidenen die alleen verliezen meemaakten na de scheiding. Voor deze respondenten (28%) had de scheiding langdurige negatieve sociale gevolgen. Vooral personen met een negatieve evaluatie van de scheiding en diegenen die niet hertrouwen hadden kans op dergelijke negatieve netwerkveranderingen.

We concluderen dat scheiding geen algemene invloed heeft op iemands persoonlijke netwerk. Het lukte de meeste gescheidenen in de studie om hun netwerkverliezen te compenseren maar de ervaring van een scheiding kan sommige personen blijvend isoleren, vooral wanneer zij geen nieuw gezin gevormd hebben.

EEN MULTIDIMENSIONELE VERKLARING

In deze studie worden veranderingen op netwerkniveau, betreffende de omvang van het netwerk, verklaard vanuit de mogelijkheden tot investeren. Deze mogelijkheden zijn afhankelijk van de condities van het centrale individu. Veranderingen op relatieniveau, betreffende de frequentie van contact tussen de gescheidene en het netwerklid, worden verklaard vanuit individuele en relationele condities. In de verklaring zijn condities van het individu en de relatie opgenomen die betrekking hebben op het investeren in persoonlijke relaties in het algemeen en in de specifieke situatie na een scheiding.

Mogelijkheden tot investeren

De scheiding

In hoofdstuk 3 vergeleken we gehuwde en gescheiden personen om inzicht te verkrijgen in de invloed van de scheiding zelf op het netwerk van steunrelaties. De bevindingen laten zien dat scheiding (zonder hertrouw) het steunnetwerk positief beïnvloedt. De alleenstaande gescheidenen hadden meer steunrelaties dan personen in hun eerste huwelijk en personen die hertrouwden na de scheiding. Het positieve effect van de scheiding kan deels toegeschreven worden aan verschillen in geslacht en opleiding. Vrouwen en hoger opgeleiden hebben relatief grote steunnetwerken en werden meer gevonden onder de alleenstaande gescheidenen dan onder personen in hun eerste huwelijk. Echter, ook wanneer voor deze verschillen werd gecontroleerd hadden alleenstaande gescheiden personen meer steunuitwisselingen met hun netwerkleiden.

In hoofdstuk 4 onderzochten we hoe belangrijk kenmerken van de scheiding zijn in de verklaring van verschillen in netwerkveranderingen in de periode na scheiding. We maakten gebruik van de data van de longitudinale studie en vonden dat de evaluatie van de scheiding, zoals aangegeven door de attitude ten aanzien van het beëindigen van de relatie en door de mate van conflicten met de ex-partner, onderscheid maakte tussen verschillende typen van netwerkverandering. Een negatieve evaluatie van de scheiding droeg bij aan netwerkverliezen of een vertraagd herstel van netwerkverliezen. Of iemand de initiatiefnemer van de scheiding was had geen effect op veranderingen in het aantal persoonlijke netwerkrelaties. Structurele en persoonlijke condities (anders dan scheidingskenmerken) verschilden niet significant tussen gescheidenen in verschillende typen van netwerkverandering. Dit suggereert dat de invloed van scheiding voor een relatief groot deel afhangt van de persoonlijke evaluatie van de scheiding. In hoofdstuk 5 onderzochten we of de evaluatie van de scheiding een rol speelt in veranderingen op relatieniveau, i.e. veranderingen in contact binnen relaties. Onze aandacht ging uit naar veranderingen in een vaste set van relaties van vóór de scheiding. De bevindingen gaven aan dat de persoonlijke evaluatie van de scheiding het contact in deze relaties niet heeft beïnvloed. Derhalve lijkt de evaluatie van de scheiding belangrijk voor de ontwikkeling van nieuwe relaties na scheiding maar is het niet waarschijnlijk dat deze het behoud van oude (i.e. van vóór de scheiding) relaties beïnvloedt.

Hertrouw

In hoofdstuk 2 vergeleken we alleenstaande gescheiden en hertrouwde personen en onderzochten we de mate waarin hertrouw samenhangt met veranderingen in de sociale situatie van de gescheidene. De resultaten lieten zien dat de beschikbaarheid van een nieuwe partner belangrijk was voor de frequentie en diversiteit van sociale contacten en, in mindere mate, voor de ontwikkeling van nieuwe steunrelaties. Deze bevindingen suggereren dat hertrouw de sociale situatie van de gescheidene verbetert. Een nieuwe partner kan toegang

verschaffen tot verschillende sociale verbanden via welke nieuwe relaties aangegaan worden. De resultaten van de vergelijkingen waarin ook personen in hun eerste huwelijk waren opgenomen (hoofdstuk 3) lieten zien dat personen die hertrouwden na echtscheiding ongeveer evenveel steunrelaties hadden als personen in hun eerste huwelijk. Dit suggereert dat hertrouw veranderingen in het steunnetwerk na een scheiding, i.e. het verkrijgen van steun van meer netwerkleiden anders dan de echtgenoot, ongedaan maakt.

Structurele kenmerken

In hoofdstuk 2 vonden we dat de huidige woon- en werksituatie van ooit gescheidenen belangrijke determinanten zijn van de sociale kringen waarin men relaties onderhoudt. Conditie zoals een hoger opleidingsniveau en een betaalde baan kunnen toegang verschaffen tot meer en verschillende sociale contacten, en lijken het ontwikkelen van nieuwe steunrelaties makkelijker te maken. De zorg voor kinderen beperkt de mogelijkheden om relaties te onderhouden in verschillende sociale verbanden en draagt bij aan een hoger aandeel familierelaties in het netwerk. Uit onze studie kwam verder naar voren dat kenmerken van het verbroken huwelijk nauwelijks van belang zijn voor het steunnetwerk na scheiding. De resultaten suggereren wel dat sociale activiteit tijdens het huwelijk (i.e. het onderhouden van eigen persoonlijke netwerkrelaties) sociale participatie na scheiding bevordert maar dit kan een schijneffect zijn omdat deze gescheidenen misschien in het algemeen sociaal actief zijn geweest (Kalmijn & Broese van Groenou, 2003).

Persoonlijkheidskenmerken

De resultaten laten zien dat persoonlijkheid bijdraagt aan verschillen in sociaal functioneren na scheiding (hoofdstuk 2). Personen met een extraverte persoonlijkheid hadden relatief veel steunrelaties en participeerden in veel verschillende typen sociale contacten en activiteiten. Een nadere verkenning van de rol van persoonlijkheid in het bepalen van verschillen in de beschikbaarheid van ondersteunende netwerkrelaties liet zien dat extravertie voor zowel eerst-gehuwden als alleenstaande en hertrouwde gescheidenen bijdroeg aan grote steunnetwerken (hoofdstuk 3). Dit suggereert dat persoonlijkheid in het algemeen van belang is voor de mobilisatie van steunrelaties, en ook, maar niet specifiek, na een belangrijke sociale gebeurtenis zoals echtscheiding.

Kenmerken van de relatie

In hoofdstuk 5 toetsten we een verklarend model met zowel individuele als relatiekenmerken om veranderingen in contact frequentie in persoonlijke relaties op de korte en lange termijn te voorspellen. Zoals verwacht, was de kans op verbreken van het contact op de korte termijn na echtscheiding vooral groot voor relaties met schoonfamilie en personen die eveneens in contact waren met de ex-partner. Op de lange termijn werd het contact met sommige relaties die men met de ex-partner deelde hersteld. Ook andere relatiekenmerken bleken van belang.

Het uitwisselen van verschillende typen steun tussen de centrale persoon en het netwerklid en, in de latere jaren, de afwezigheid van afkeuring bij het netwerklid en de gedeelde ervaring van een scheiding beïnvloedden het behoud van de relatie op een positieve manier. Vergeleken met structurele en persoonlijke condities van de gescheidene bleven relatiekenmerken, met name investeringen in het contact van vóór de scheiding, het meest belangrijk over de lange termijn na scheiding.

Mannen en vrouwen

Onze bevindingen tonen aan dat gescheiden mannen en vrouwen verschillen met betrekking tot kenmerken van hun steunnetwerk (hoofdstuk 2). We vonden dat mannen relatief veel nieuwe steunrelaties aangaan na scheiding terwijl vrouwen vaker contact houden met familie en vrienden van vóór de scheiding. Deze verschillen kunnen deels toegeschreven worden aan de verschillende structurele context van mannen en vrouwen. De structurele condities van gescheiden mannen lijken toegang te verschaffen tot grotere sociale netwerken terwijl de structurele context van gescheiden vrouwen het makkelijker maakt om steunrelaties te onderhouden in de thuissituatie en de buurt. We vonden ook sekseverschillen in de patronen van netwerkverandering na scheiding (hoofdstuk 4). Zowel mannen als vrouwen worden geconfronteerd met netwerkverliezen na de scheiding maar voor mannen houden deze verliezen vaker aan over de langere termijn. Waarom blijvende netwerkverliezen vaker bij mannen dan vrouwen voorkwamen wordt niet duidelijk uit onze data en is een onderwerp voor vervolgonderzoek.

NAAR EEN MULTIDIMENSIONEEL MODEL

In drie van de hoofdstukken onderzochten we een multidimensionele verklaring van netwerkveranderingen na scheiding. We vonden substantieel bewijs voor drie typen factoren (scheiding, structurele condities en persoonlijkheidskenmerken). Opmerkelijk is dat binnen het subsample van gescheiden personen, de scheidingskenmerken het belangrijkste bleken terwijl structurele condities en persoonlijkheidskenmerken het meest van belang waren in de vergelijking van gehuwde en ooit gescheiden personen. Hoewel het niet mogelijk was om het complete model te toetsen in een sample met zowel gehuwde als gescheiden personen, denken we dat onze resultaten bewijs hebben geleverd voor elk van de drie dimensies van het model. Dit model is mogelijk ook van toepassing op het verklaren van netwerkveranderingen na een andere belangrijke levensgebeurtenis, zoals verweduwing. Wij verwachten dat het onderhouden van relaties over de lange termijn na verweduwing zal afhangen van individuele kenmerken zoals opleiding en gezondheid (Ferraro & Barresi, 1982; Guiaux, van Tilburg, & Broese van Groenou, 2003) maar ook, zoals in de situatie na echtscheiding, van de manier waarop de gebeurtenis wordt geëvalueerd en van iemands persoonlijkheidskenmerken. De

algemene conclusie is dat zowel persoonlijke als structurele condities in heden en verleden een wezenlijke rol spelen in het sociaal functioneren na belangrijke gebeurtenissen, in dit geval echtscheiding. Wanneer relatiekenmerken worden toegevoegd, zou men ook in staat zijn om te voorspellen welke relaties in het netwerk blijven na scheiding (of elke andere gebeurtenis) en welke niet.

METHODOLOGISCHE IMPLICATIES

Samples

Voor het toetsen van onze hypothesen gebruikten we data van twee samples, het SIN- en het NFS-sample. Beide samples hebben voor- en nadelen. Het SIN-sample heeft als voordeel dat het een grootschalige, nationale en representatieve steekproef is waarin zowel personen in hun eerste huwelijk als gescheiden en hertrouwde personen zijn opgenomen. De SIN-studie is cross-sectioneel maar vergelijkingen van de situatie van vóór en na de scheiding kunnen gemaakt worden door de opname van retrospectieve metingen over vaste perioden, zoals de eerste vijf jaren van het huwelijk. Dit maakt het mogelijk om voor selectie effecten met betrekking tot de participatie in sociale contacten van vóór de scheiding te controleren. De verschillen tussen gehuwden, alleenstaande gescheidenen en hertrouwen zullen deels voortkomen uit het feit dat personen met minder sociale vaardigheden meer kans hebben om te scheiden of dat degenen die beter zijn in de ontwikkeling van nieuwe contacten eerder geneigd zijn tot hertrouwen. Deze selectie effecten kregen, hoewel ze van belang zijn, niet veel aandacht in deze studie en blijven daarom een zaak waar rekening mee gehouden moet worden in volgende vergelijkingen van gehuwde en ooit gescheiden personen.

In tegenstelling tot het SIN-sample is het NFS-sample klein en kan het niet als representatief beschouwd worden voor de gescheiden populatie in Nederland. Echter, voor de steekproef van gescheiden personen in de NFS zijn longitudinale data beschikbaar over een langere periode. Doordat de NFS een gedetailleerde identificatie van het netwerk bevatte op alle meetmomenten werd een unieke data-set verkregen. Nadeel is dat in de NFS geen controle groep van gehuwde personen was opgenomen en dat netwerken van vóór de scheiding retrospectief werden bepaald. In de afwezigheid van een controle groep waren we niet in staat om te bepalen in hoeverre de waargenomen veranderingen in het persoonlijke netwerk toegeschreven kunnen worden aan het ervaren van een scheiding. Dankzij de gedetailleerde netwerkdata van de NFS was het mogelijk verschillende patronen van netwerkverandering te identificeren alsook een multilevel multidimensioneel verklarend model te toetsen waarin, naast kenmerken van de relatie, kenmerken van de scheiding en structurele en persoonlijke condities van de centrale persoon waren opgenomen.

Gezamenlijk leveren de resultaten van de SIN-studie en de NFS een beeld van de sociale gevolgen van een scheiding. Echter, verder onderzoek naar een causaal effect van

echtscheiding op het persoonlijke netwerk in de toekomst vereist een grootschalige longitudinale studie onder een representatieve steekproef van gehuwde en ooit gescheiden personen.

Netwerkidenticatie methode

Bij de interpretatie van data over persoonlijke netwerken moet men er rekening mee houden dat een specifiek gedeelte van het grotere sociale netwerk wordt afgebakend. Onderzoeksdoelen bepalen welk gedeelte afgebakend wordt.

Het SIN-survey leverde een beperkte set van data over het netwerk op. Door beperkingen in interviewtijd werden alleen die vijf personen met wie de respondent emotionele steun uitwisselde en die vijf personen met wie de respondent instrumentele steun uitwisselde geïdentificeerd; het maximale aantal geïdentificeerde netwerkliden was tien. Slechts een klein deel van het persoonlijke netwerk werd afgebakend, i.e. de kern van steunrelaties. De partner werd niet in het netwerk opgenomen en dit kan, omdat de partner doorgaans een belangrijke bron van steun is, ten dele verklaren waarom alleenstaand gescheiden personen grotere netwerken hadden dan gehuwde en hertrouwde personen. Om een betere indicatie te verkrijgen van het niveau van sociaal functioneren werden metingen opgenomen van de frequentie waarmee mensen participeren in verschillende typen sociale contacten en activiteiten. De SIN-data suggereren dat alleenstaande gescheidenen een lager niveau van sociale participatie hebben dan hertrouwen maar relatief veel steun krijgen van hun netwerkliden.

In de follow-up studie was het doel om een breed en gevarieerd netwerk te identificeren zodat de gevolgen van een scheiding voor het onderhouden van verschillende typen relaties kon worden vastgesteld. Respondenten werden ondervraagd over bestaande rol relaties en een reeks van significante interacties. De netwerken die geïdentificeerd werden bestonden gemiddeld uit 15 personen. Binnen een persoonlijk netwerk kan een kern bestaande uit hechte familie- en vriendschapsrelaties worden onderscheiden van een periferie bestaande uit netwerkliden met wie men niet frequent contact heeft en losse relaties zoals met oppervlakkige kennissen. Het gebruik van de “exchange-methode” resulteerde in de identificatie van zowel kernnetwerkliden als perifere netwerkliden (cf. McCallister & Fischer, 1978; van Sonderen, Ormel, Brilman, & van Linden van den Heuvell, 1990). Eerdere longitudinale studies toonden aan dat verliezen en winsten over het algemeen vooral voorkomen in perifere contacten terwijl de kern van hechte relaties behouden lijkt te blijven over de tijd (van Tilburg, 1998; Wellman, Wong, Tindall, & Nazer, 1997). Met onze identificatie methode waren we in staat om aan te tonen dat de meeste veranderingen op de lange termijn na een scheiding plaats vinden in de netwerkperiferie terwijl korte termijn veranderingen voorkomen in zowel de kern als de periferie van het netwerk. We zagen dat kort na de scheiding relaties met kern netwerkliden, zoals leden van de schoonfamilie en gezamenlijke vrienden, een relatief grote kans hadden verbroken te worden ondanks de grote

investeringen in deze relaties in de periode vóór de scheiding. De analyses op netwerkniveau suggereren dat nieuwe relaties voornamelijk perifere contacten zijn. De vraag of en welke van deze nieuwe contacten toetreden tot de kern van het netwerk, i.e. hechte vrienden worden, zal het onderwerp zijn van vervolgstudies.

Data verzamelen bij netwerkliden, inclusief de ex-partner

In deze studie analyseerden we data die verzameld waren bij gescheiden (en gehuwde) personen zelf. Echter, om een compleet beeld te krijgen van veranderingen in relaties na scheiding zou men ook data moeten analyseren van twee andere bronnen: de ex-partner en het netwerklid. De follow-up sample omvat 41 ex-koppels en de vergelijking van hun (netwerk) gegevens kan meer licht werpen op de verdeling van gezamenlijke vrienden en de manier waarop de wederzijdse afhankelijkheid tussen de ex-partners voor het behoud van relaties tijdens het huwelijk hun beider netwerken beïnvloedt in de periode na de scheiding. Data van netwerkliden kunnen meer inzicht verschaffen in de overwegingen van hun kant om het contact met de gescheidene en de ex-partner wel of niet te verbreken. Wanneer het netwerklid beslist om het contact in de relatie te veranderen, dan zal de gescheiden persoon ook verdere investeringen in de relatie (her)overwegen. Vervolgonderzoek kan meer inzicht verschaffen in kwesties als hoe de gescheidene en het netwerklid elkaars beslissing om te investeren in de relatie beïnvloeden en hoe dit kan leiden tot verandering in de relatie over de tijd.

NA DE SCHEIDING

De bevindingen in onze studie geven aan dat voor sommigen de scheiding een tijdelijke netwerkcrisis inhoudt. Echter, behalve verlies gevolgd door winst, zijn ook andere patronen van netwerkverandering mogelijk. De bevindingen suggereren dat het beëindigen van een problematisch huwelijk meer vrijheid oplevert om relaties met anderen te onderhouden. De bevindingen geven ook aan dat voor sommige personen zorg over een langdurig isolerend effect van scheiding gegrond is. Aandacht moet besteed worden aan de situatie waarin de gescheidene niet in staat is om personen te mobiliseren die de partner als een belangrijke bron van steun kunnen vervangen. Dat is de situatie waarin de ex-partners verstrikt zijn in negatieve gevoelens en slepende conflicten over de afwikkeling van de scheiding, of wanneer een introverte persoonlijkheid het vormen van nieuwe relaties vertraagt of verhindert en een nieuwe partnerrelatie uitblijft. Hoewel het sociaal functioneren van personen die een negatieve scheiding meemaken uiteindelijk kan verbeteren is het raadzaam om preventieve maatregelen te nemen. Op de korte termijn kan de gescheiden persoon profiteren van investeringen van vóór de scheiding in eigen persoonlijke relaties. Contacten met familie en eigen vrienden blijven vaak behouden na de scheiding en de steun van deze relaties kan de aanpassing aan het leven als alleenstaande vergemakkelijken. Op de lange termijn vereist een

gunstige netwerksituatie dat beide partners de scheiding verwerkt hebben en er geen conflicten meer zijn ten aanzien van scheidingsregelingen. Ter conclusie, investeren in eigen persoonlijke relaties tijdens het huwelijk en het doorbreken van een hardnekkige negatieve houding ten aanzien van de vroegere echtgenoot zijn van belang voor het afwenden van negatieve sociale gevolgen over de lange termijn na een scheiding.

REFERENCES

REFERENCES

- Albeck, S., & Kaydar, D. (2002). Divorced mothers: Their network of friends pre- and post-divorce. *Journal of Divorce and Remarriage*, 36, 111-138.
- Amato, P. R. (2000). The consequences of divorce for adults and children. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 62, 1269-1287.
- Antonucci, T. C. (1990). Social supports and social relationships. In R. H. Binstock & L. K. George (Eds.), *The handbook of aging and the social sciences* (3rd. Ed, pp. 205-226). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.
- Arriaga, X. B., & Agnew, C. R. (2001). Being committed: Affective, cognitive, and conative components of relationship commitment. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 27, 1190-1203.
- Bahr, S. (1976). The kinship role in a contemporary community: Perceptions of obligations and sanctions. In F. I. Nye (Ed.), *Role structure and role analysis of the family* (pp. 97-112). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Barbee, A. P., Cunningham, M. R., Winstead, B. A., Derlega, V. J., Gulley, M. R., Yankeelov, P. A., & Druen, P. B. (1993). Effects of gender role expectations on the social support process. *Journal of Social Issues*, 49, 175-190.
- Baruch, G. K., Biener, L., & Barnett, R. C. (1987). Women and gender in research on work and family stress. *American Psychologist*, 42, 130-136.
- Bergeman, C. S., Plomin, R., Pedersen, N. L., & McClearn, G. E. (1990). Genetic and environmental influences on support: The Swedish adoption/Twin study of aging. *Journal of Gerontology: Psychological Sciences*, 45, 101-106.
- Blau, P. M. (1964). *Exchange and power in social life*. New York: Wiley and Sons.
- Bolger, N., & Schilling, E. A. (1991). Personality and the problems of everyday life: The role of neuroticism in exposure and reactivity to daily stressors. *Journal of Personality*, 59, 355-386.
- Bolger, N., & Zuckerman, A. (1995). A framework for studying personality in the stress process. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69, 890-902.
- Broese van Groenou, M. I. (1991). *Gescheiden netwerken: De relaties met vrienden en verwanten na echtscheiding* [Separated networks: Relations with friends and family after divorce]. Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers.
- Broese van Groenou, M. I. (1992). Vrienden en verwanten na echtscheiding: Een vergelijking van de kans op behoud van contact [Friends and family after divorce: A comparison of the chance on contact maintenance]. In W. Jansen & G. L. H. Wittenboer (Eds.), *Sociale netwerken en hun invloed* (pp. 131-145). Meppel/Amsterdam: Boom.
- Broese van Groenou, M. I., van Sonderen, E., & Ormel, J. (1990). Test-retest reliability of personal network delineation. In C. P. M. Knipscheer & T. C. Antonucci (Eds.), *Social network research: Substantive issues and methodological questions* (pp. 121-136). Lisse: Swets en Zeitlinger.

- Broese van Groenou, M. I., & van Tilburg, T. G. (1996). Network analysis. In J. E. Birren (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of gerontology: Age, aging and the aged* (Vol. 2, pp. 197-210). San Diego: Academic Press.
- Campbell, K., & Lee, B. (1990). Gender differences in urban neighboring. *Sociological Quarterly*, 31, 495-512.
- Campbell, K., Marsden, P. V., & Hurlbert, J. S. (1986). Social resources and socio-economic status. *Social Networks*, 8, 97-117.
- Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (1990). Echtscheidingen 1985-1989. *Maandstatistiek van de Bevolking*, 6, 37.
- Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (1995). Echtscheidingen 1990-1994. *Maandstatistiek van de Bevolking*, 9, 25-32.
- Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, (1999a). Echtscheidingen 1994-1998. *Maandstatistiek van de Bevolking*, 11, 63-72.
- Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (1999b). *Vital events: past, present and future of the Dutch population*. CBS: Voorburg, The Netherlands.
- Chiriboga, D. A., Coho, A., Stein, J. A., & Roberts, J. (1979). Divorce, stress, and social supports: A study in help seeking behavior. *Journal of Divorce*, 3, 121-135.
- Clarke-Stewart, K. A., & Bailey, B. L. (1990). Adjustment to divorce: Why do men have it easier? *Journal of Divorce*, 13, 75-94.
- Coleman, M., Ganong, L. H., & Fine, M. A. (2000). Reinvestigating remarriage: Another decade of progress. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 62, 1288-1307.
- Costa, P. T., Zonderman, A. B., & McCrae, R. R. (1985). Longitudinal course of social support among men in the Baltimore longitudinal study of aging. In I. G. Sarason & B. R. Sarason (Eds.), *Social support: Theory, research and applications* (pp. 137-154). Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- D'Abate, D. (1993). The role of social network supports of Italian parents and children in their adjustment to separation and divorce. *Journal of Divorce and Remarriage*, 20, 161-187.
- David, J. P., Green, P. J., Martin, R., & Suls, J. (1997). Differential roles of neuroticism, extroversion, and event desirability for mood in daily life: An integrative model of top-down and bottom-up influences. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73, 149-159.
- de Jong, A. H. (1999). Trouwen en scheiden: Lichte restauratie op komst. *Maandstatistiek van de Bevolking*, 6, 8-16.
- Duffy, M. E. (1993). Social support: The provider's perspective. *Journal of Divorce and Remarriage*, 19, 57-73.
- Duran-Aydintug, C. (1998). Emotional support during separation: Its sources and determinants. *Journal of Divorce and Remarriage*, 29, 121-141.

REFERENCES

- Dykstra, P. A. (1993). The differential availability of relationships and the provision and effectiveness of support to older adults. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 10, 355-370.
- Dykstra, P. A. (1997). The effects of divorce on intergenerational exchanges in families. *The Netherlands Journal of Social Sciences*, 33, 77-93.
- Dykstra, P. A., & de Jong Gierveld, J. (1999). Differentiële kansen op eenzaamheid onder ouderen: De betekenis van type partnerrelatie, partnergeschiedenis, gezondheid, sociaal-economische positie en sociale relaties [Differential probabilities on loneliness amongst the elderly]. *Tijdschrift voor Gerontologie & Geriatrie*, 30, 212-225.
- Dykstra, P. A., & Liefbroer, A. C. (1998). Kinderloos en toch gelukkig? Over de gevolgen van kinderloosheid voor de ouderdom [Childless, but still happy? On late life consequences of childlessness]. *Mens & Maatschappij*, 73, 108-129.
- Eisemann, M. (1984). The relationship of personality to social network aspects and loneliness in depressed patients. *Acta Psychiatry Scandinavia*, 70, 337-341.
- Ensel, W. M., & Lin, N. (1991). The life stress paradigm and psychological distress. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 32, 321-341.
- Ferraro, K. F., & Barresi, C. M. (1982). The impact of widowhood on the social relations of older persons. *Research on Aging*, 4, 227-247.
- Fischer, J. L., Sollie, D. L., Sorell, G. T., & Green, S. K. (1989). Marital status and career stage influences on social networks of young adults. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 51, 521-534.
- Fischer, T. F. C., de Graaf, P. M., & Kalmijn, M. (2003). *Friendly and antagonistic contact between former spouses after divorce: Patterns and determinants*. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Fokkema, T., & Dykstra, P. A. (2001). Verschillen in depressie tussen gehuwde en gescheiden vrouwen in Nederland: op zoek naar een verklaring [Differences in depression between married and divorced women in the Netherlands: in search of an explanation]. *Sociale Wetenschappen*, 44, 115-137.
- Gerris, J. R. M. (1998). *Parents, adolescents and young adults in Dutch families: a longitudinal study*. Nijmegen, The Netherlands: University of Nijmegen, Institute of Family Studies.
- Gerstel, N. (1988a). Divorce, gender, and social integration. *Gender & Society*, 2, 343-367.
- Gerstel, N. (1988b). Divorce and kin ties: The importance of gender. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 50, 209-219.
- Gerstel, N., Riessman, C., & Rosenfield, S. (1985). Explaining the symptomatology of separated and divorced women and men: The role of material conditions and social networks. *Social Forces*, 64, 84-101.

- Goldberg, L. R. (1981). Language and individual differences: The search for universals in personality lexicons. In L. Wheeler (Ed.), *Review of personality and social psychology: Vol. 2*. (pp. 141–165). Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Guiaux, M., van Tilburg, T. G., & Broese van Groenou, M. I. (2003, May). *Veranderingen in steunuitwisseling in persoonlijke relatienetwerken na verweduwing* [Changes in the exchange of support in personal networks after bereavement]. Paper presented at the Marktdag Sociologie, a joint conference of the Nederlandse Sociologische Vereniging and the Vlaamse Vereniging voor Sociologie, Nijmegen.
- Gunthert, K. C., Cohen, L. H., & Armeli, S. (1999). The role of neuroticism in daily stress and coping. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 77, 1087-1100.
- Hall, A., & Wellman, B. (1985). Social networks and social support. In S. Cohen & S. L. Syme (Eds.), *Social support and health* (pp. 23-41). New York: Academic Press.
- Hansen, F. J., Fallon, A. E., & Novotny, S. L. (1991). The relationship between social network structure and marital satisfaction in distressed and nondistressed couples: A pilot study. *Family Therapy*, 18, 101-114.
- Helbing, J. C. (1982). Zelfwaardering: Meting en validiteit [Self-esteem: Measurement and validity]. *Nederlands Tijdschrift voor de Psychologie*, 37, 257-277.
- Homans, G. C. (1961). *Social behavior: Its elementary forms*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.
- Hughes, R. (1988). Divorce and social support: A review. *Journal of Divorce*, 11, 123-145.
- Hughes, R., Good, E. S., & Candell, K. (1993). A longitudinal study of the effects of social support on the psychological adjustment of divorced mothers. *Journal of Divorce and Remarriage*, 19, 37-56.
- Hurlbert, J. S., & Acock, A. C. (1990). The effects of marital status on the form and composition of the social networks. *Social Science Quarterly*, 71, 163-174.
- Jacobson, G. F. (1983). *The multiple crises of marital separation and divorce*. New York: Grune & Stratton.
- Johnson, C. L. (1988). Relationships among family members and friends in later life. In R. M. Milardo (Ed.), *Families and social networks* (pp. 168-189). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Kahn, R. L., & Antonucci, T. C. (1980). Convoys over the life course: Attachment, roles, and social support. In P. B. Baltes & O. Brim (Eds.), *Life-span development and behavior* (Vol. 3, pp. 253–286). New York: Academic Press.
- Kalmijn, M., & Bernasco, W. (2001). Joint and separated lifestyles in couple relationships. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 63, 639–654.
- Kalmijn, M., & Broese van Groenou, M. I. (2003). *Differential effects of divorce on social integration*. Manuscript submitted for publication.

- Kalmijn, M., & de Graaf, P. M. (2000a, August/September). *Remarriage and cohabitation after divorce in the Netherlands: Competing risk analyses of social, economic and cultural determinants*. Paper presented at the conference Population Studies in Britain and the Netherlands, a joint conference of the British Society of Population Studies and the Nederlandse Vereniging voor Demografie, Utrecht, The Netherlands.
- Kalmijn, M., & de Graaf, P. M. (2000b). Gescheiden vaders en hun kinderen: Een empirische analyse van voogdij en bezoekfrequentie [Divorced fathers and their children: An empirical analysis of custody and visiting frequency]. *Bevolking en Gezin*, 2, 59-84.
- Kalmijn, M., de Graaf, P. M., & Uunk, W. (2000). *Codeboek van het survey Scheiding in Nederland 1998* [Codebook of the survey Divorce in The Netherlands 1998]. Utrecht: ICS Occasional papers and document series, ICS-Codebooks 40.
- Kawachi, I., Kennedy, B. P., Lochner, K., & Prothrow-Smith, D. (1997). Social capital, income inequality, and mortality. *American Journal of Public Health*, 87, 1491-1498.
- Kayser, K. (1993). *When love dies: The process of marital disaffection*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Kitson, G. C. (1982). Attachment to the spouse in divorce: A scale and its application. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 44, 379-393.
- Kitson, G. C. (1992). *Portrait of divorce: Adjustment to marital breakdown*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Kitson, G. C., & Morgan, L. A. (1990). The multiple consequences of divorce: A decade review. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 52, 913-924.
- Kleiner, R. J., & Parker, S. (1976). Network participation and psychological impairment in an urban environment. In P. Meadows & E. H. Mizruchi (Eds.), *Urbanism, urbanization and change: Comparative perspectives*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Lang, F. R., Staudinger, U. M., & Carstensen, L. L. (1998). Perspectives on socioemotional selectivity in late life: How personality and social context do (and do not) make a difference. *Journals of Gerontology*, 53B, P21-P30.
- Larner, M. (1990). Local residential mobility and its effects on social networks: A cross-cultural comparison. In M. Cochran, M. Larner, D. Riley, L. Gunnarsson, & C. R. Henderson, Jr. (Eds.), *Extending families: The social networks of parents and their children* (pp. 205-229). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Le, B., & Agnew, C. R. (2003). Commitment and its theorized determinants: A meta-analysis of the investment model. *Personal Relationships*, 10, 37-57.
- Leslie, L. A., & Grady, K. (1985). Changes in mothers' social networks and social support following divorce. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 47, 663-674.
- Liefbroer, A. C., & Dykstra, P. A. (2000). *Levenslopen in verandering: een studie naar ontwikkelingen in de levenslopen van Nederlanders geboren tussen 1900 en 1970*. Den Haag: SDU.

- Lin, N. (1982). Social resources and instrumental action. In P. V. Marsden & N. Lin (Eds.), *Social structure and network analysis* (pp. 131-146). Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Lopata, H. Z. (1988). Support systems of American urban widowhood. *Journal of Social Issues*, 44, 113-128.
- Maas, J. M. A. G. (1984). *Sociale participatie van gescheiden moeders* [The social participation of divorced mothers]. Tilburg: Instituut voor Arbeidsvraagstukken.
- Magdol, L. (2000). The people you know: The impact of residential mobility on mothers' social network ties. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 17, 183-204.
- Malo, C. (1994). Ex-partner, family, friends, and other relationships: Their role within the social network of long-term single mothers. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 24, 60-81.
- Marsden, P. (1987). Core discussion networks of Americans. *American Sociological Review*, 52, 122-131.
- McCallister, L., & Fischer, C. S. (1978). A procedure for surveying personal networks. *Sociological Methods and Research*, 7, 131-148.
- McKenry, P. C., & Price, S. J. (1991). Alternatives for support: Life after divorce – A literature review. *Journal of Divorce and Remarriage*, 15, 1-19.
- Milardo, R. M. (1982). Friendship networks in developing relationships: Converging and diverging social environments. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 45, 162-172.
- Milardo, R. M. (1986). Personal choice and social constraint in close relationships: Applications of network analysis. In V. Derlega & B. Winstead (Eds.), *Friendship and social interaction* (pp. 145-165). New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Milardo, R. M. (1987). Changes in social networks of women and men following divorce. A review. *Journal of Family Issues*, 8, 78-96.
- Milardo, R. M. (1988). Families and social networks: An overview of theory and methodology. In R. M. Milardo (Ed.), *Families and social networks* (pp. 13-47). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Miller, N. B., Smerglia, V. L., Gaudet, D. S., & Kitson, G. C. (1998). Stressful life events, social support, and the distress of widowed and divorced women: A counteractive model. *Journal of Family Issues*, 19, 181-203.
- Moore, G. (1990). Structural determinants of men's and women's personal networks. *American Sociological Review*, 55, 726-735.
- Munch, A., McPherson, J. Miller, & Smith-Lovin, L. (1997). Gender, children, and social contact: The effects of childrearing for men and women. *American Sociological Review*, 62, 509-520.
- Nelson, G. (1995). Women's social networks and social support following marital separation: a controlled prospective study. *Journal of Divorce & Remarriage*, 23, 149-169.
- Pettit, E. J., & Bloom, B. L. (1984). Whose decision was it?: The effects of initiator status on adjustment to marital disruption. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 46, 587-595.

REFERENCES

- Poortman, A., & Kalmijn, M. (1999). Afnemende ongelijkheid tussen alleenstaande gescheiden mannen en vrouwen: Trends in arbeidsmarkt deelname [Decreasing inequality between divorced men and women: Trends in labor force participation]. *Bevolking en Gezin*, 28, 41-61.
- Prosser, R., Rasbash, J., & Goldstein, H. (1991). *ML3 software for three-level analysis: Users' guide for version 2*. Institute of Education, University of London.
- Rands, M. (1988). Changes in social networks following marital separation and divorce. In R. M. Milardo (Ed.), *Families and social networks* (pp. 127-146). Newbury park, CA: Sage.
- Rascke, H. J. (1977). The role of social participation in postseparation and postdivorce adjustment. *Journal of Divorce*, 1, 129-140.
- Renne, K. S. (1971). Health and marital experience in an urban population. *Journal of marriage and the family*, 33, 338-350.
- Rosenberg, M. (1965). *Society and the adolescent self-image*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Rusbult, C. E. (1980). Satisfaction and commitment in friendships. *Representative Research in Social Psychology*, 11, 96-105.
- Rusbult, C. E., & Buunk, B. P. (1993). Commitment processes in close relationships: An interdependence analysis. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 10, 175-204.
- Schiepers, J. M. P. (1988). Huishoudequivalentiefactoren volgens de budgetverdelingsmethode [Household equivalence factors according to the budget division method]. *Supplement bij de Sociaal-Economische Maandstatistiek*, 2, 28-36.
- Schut, H. A. W., de Keijser, J., van den Bout, J., & Jaspers, J. P. C. (1991). Omgaan met de dood van de levenspartner: Sekseverschillen in de eerste maanden na het overlijden [Coping with conjugal bereavement: Sex differences in the first months after the death of the partner]. *Gedrag en Gezondheid*, 19, 93-103.
- Smerglia, V. L., Miller, N. B., & Kort-Butler, L. (1999). The impact of social support on women's adjustment to divorce: A literature review and analysis. *Journal of Divorce & Remarriage*, 32, 63-89.
- Spanier, G. B., & Thompson, L. (1984). *Parting: The aftermath of separation and divorce*. New York: Sage Publications.
- Spicer, J. W., & Hampe, G. D. (1975). Kinship interaction after divorce. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 37, 113-119.
- Stevens, N. (1995). Gender and adaptation to widowhood in later life. *Ageing and Society*, 15, 37-58.
- Stokes, J. P. (1985). The relation of social network and individual difference variables to loneliness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 48, 981-990.
- Tas, R. F. J. (1989). Echtscheiding in Nederland 1950-1987. *Maandstatistiek van de bevolking*, 6, 31-35.

- Terhell, E. L., Broese van Groenou, M. I., & van Tilburg, T. G. (2001a). Steun na scheiding: Een kwestie van persoonlijkheid? [Support after divorce: A matter of Personality?]. *Nederlands Tijdschrift voor de Psychologie*, 56, 166–176.
- Terhell, E. L., Broese van Groenou, M. I., & van Tilburg, T. G. (2001b). Verschillen in het steunnetwerk en de sociale participatie van gescheiden mannen en vrouwen [Differences in the support network and social participation of divorced men and women]. *Sociale Wetenschappen*, 44, 93-114.
- Thuen, F., & Eikeland, O. J. (1998). Social support among males and females after marital disruption. *Psychology, Health & Medicine*, 3, 315-326.
- Tietjen, A. M. (1985). The social networks and social support of married and single mothers in Sweden. *Journal of Marriage and the family*, 47, 489-496.
- Uunk, W. (1999). Hertrouw in Nederland: Sociaal-demografische determinanten van gehuwd en ongehuwd samenwonen na echtscheiding [Remarriage in the Netherlands: Sociodemographic determinants of married and unmarried cohabitation after divorce]. *Mens en Maatschappij*, 74, 99-118.
- van Busschbach, J. T. (1996). *Uit het oog, uit het hart?: Stabiliteit en verandering in persoonlijke relaties* [Out of sight, out of mind?: Stability and change in personal relationships]. Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers.
- van der Poel, M. G. M. (1993). *Personal networks. A rational-choice explanation of their size and composition*. Lisse: Swets en Zeitlinger.
- van Sonderen, E. (1991). *Het meten van sociale steun* [The measurement of social support]. Dissertatie Rijksuniversiteit Groningen.
- van Sonderen, E., Ormel, J., Brilman, E., & van Linden van den Heuvell, Ch. (1990). Personal network delineation: A comparison of the exchange, affective and role-relation approach. In C. P. M. Knipscheer & T. C. Antonucci (Eds.), *Social network research: Substantive issues and methodological questions* (pp. 101-120). Lisse: Swets en Zeitlinger.
- van Tilburg, T. G. (1989). Een gevarieerd en uitgebreid netwerk: Vroege determinanten van succesvolle 'coping' met scheiding [A variegated and extended network of personal relationships. Early determinants of successful coping with divorce]. *Mens en Maatschappij*, 64, 291-303.
- van Tilburg, T. G. (1998). Losing and gaining in old age: Changes in personal network size and social support in a four-year longitudinal study. *Journal of Gerontology: Social Sciences*, 53B, 313-323.
- Von Dras, D. D., & Siegler, I. C. (1997). Stability in extraversion and aspects of social support at midlife. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 72, 233-241.
- Wallerstein, J. S., & Blakeslee, S. (1990). *Second chances: Men, women and children a decade after divorce*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

REFERENCES

- Wang, H., & Amato, P. R. (2000). Predictors of divorce adjustment: Stressors, resources, and definitions. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 62, 655–668.
- Weeda, I., & Groenewold, J. (1986). *Scheiden doet lijden? (Voor)oordelen over de gevolgen van echtscheiding* [To leave is to die a little?]. Houten: Unieboek.
- Wellman, B., & Wellman, B. (1992). Domestic affairs and network relations. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 9, 385-409.
- Wellman, B., Wong, R. Y-l., Tindall, D., & Nazer, N. (1997). A decade of network change: Turnover, persistence and stability in personal communities. *Social Networks*, 19, 27-50.
- White, L. K. (1979). Sex differentials in the effects of remarriage on global happiness. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 41, 869-876.
- Wilcox, B. L. (1981). Social support in adjusting to marital disruption: A network analysis. In B. Gottlieb (Ed.), *Social networks and social support* (pp. 97–115). Beverly Hills: Sage.

DANKWOORD

Tijdens mijn promotietraject heb ik vele malen verlangd naar dit moment. Met de steun van familie, vrienden en collega's ben ik zover gekomen dat ik een heus proefschrift mag verdedigen voor een commissie van deskundige critici. Graag wil ik hier mijn dank uiten voor de steun die ik in de afgelopen jaren ontving.

Als eerste dank ik mijn (co)promotoren Marjolein Broese van Groenou, Theo van Tilburg en Kees Knipscheer. Marjolein, jij bent de grondlegger van het hele project. Door jouw inzet en kennis op het terrein van netwerken na echtscheiding werd het mogelijk om deel II van "Gescheiden Netwerken" te schrijven. Van jouw begeleiding die zich vooral kenmerkt door vindingrijkheid en efficiëntie maar ook door optimisme en hulpvaardigheid heb ik veel geleerd. Theo, als tweede begeleider heb je een enorme inhoudelijke bijdrage geleverd bij het tot stand komen van dit boek. Ik ben blij dat ik je steeds beter heb leren volgen tijdens de werkbesprekingen waarin jij mij op efficiënte en soms wat cryptische wijze de benodigde schrijf- en analysevaardigheden bijbracht. De samenwerking met jou en Marjolein kenmerkte zich naast intensieve arbeid ook door een goede dosis humor hetgeen de kritische kanttekeningen bij mijn artikelen een stuk dragelijker maakte. Kees, jij was meer op de achtergrond aanwezig. Het feit dat ik bij jou terecht kon op momenten dat de werkzaamheden even wat moeilijker verliepen heb ik zeer gewaardeerd.

De leden van de SIN-groep en met name de hoofdaanvragers van het onderzoeksprogramma, Matthijs Kalmijn en Paul de Graaf, dank ik voor hun werk bij het opzetten van het SIN-survey, het verschaffen van een stimulerende wetenschappelijke werkring en de commentaren ten aanzien van mijn artikelen.

Ik dank de collega's van LASA en SCW voor de fijne werksfeer. Velen hebben mij met raad en daad bijgestaan. Een aantal wil ik in het bijzonder noemen. Suzan van der Pas en Marja Aartsen: kundig, vrolijk en altijd bereid om te helpen. Ik heb aan jullie twee goede maatjes overgehouden. Bedankt dat jullie mijn paranimfen willen zijn. Dorly Deeg dank ik voor de gastvrijheid. Mijn plek bij LASA heb ik altijd zeer gewaardeerd. Jan Smit bedankt voor de praktische adviezen bij de voorbereiding van de dataverzameling en het opzetten van de data bestanden, alsook voor de hulp bij het creëren van een nieuwe werkplek. Miranda Dik en Astrid Vellinga, onze etentjes hebben altijd een positieve uitwerking gehad op mijn gemoed, laten we deze bijeenkomsten vooral voortzetten. Met mijn (oud)kamergenoten Sandra Geerlings, Linda Horn en Geraldine Visser heb ik dagelijks vele waardevolle gesprekken kunnen voeren, waarvoor mijn dank.

De leden van de leescommissie ben ik bijzonder erkentelijk voor de aandacht en tijd die zij hebben besteed aan mijn proefschrift.

Essentieel voor het onderzoek was natuurlijk de medewerking van de gescheiden respondenten. Twaalf jaar na de scheiding hebben zij opnieuw belangeloos hun verhaal willen doen en ik ben hen daar zeer dankbaar voor. Daarnaast gaat mijn waardering uit naar de interviewers die de gescheiden personen in alle delen van het land hebben opgezocht.

Verder wil ik een paar vriendinnen hier met name danken. Fije, Karin en Fabiënne, door jullie interesse en waardering bleef ik in mijn werk en capaciteiten geloven. Ik hoop dat we samen nog vele belangrijke levensgebeurtenissen delen.

Sappho Panhuysen, bedankt voor het ontwerpen van de mooie cover.

Albert Leijs, bedankt voor de laatste controle van de tekstopmaak.

Threes van Aken, heerlijk dat ik bij jou altijd mag bijkomen.

Bart van Aken, ik heb jouw betrokkenheid bij mijn werk als onderzoeker zeer gewaardeerd.

Ik ben trots op Ivo, mijn broer, die met veel humor, aanpassingsvermogen en een optimistische blik in het Spaanse leven staat. Mijn boek heb ik opgedragen aan mijn vader en moeder voor de onvoorwaardelijke steun en liefde die zij mij altijd hebben gegeven.

Tot slot, richt ik het woord tot Pepijn, met wie ik na vijf jaar echtscheidingsonderzoek getrouwd ben. Pepijn dat ik het leven met jou deel maakt mij een gelukkig mens omdat jij de dingen in het leven altijd een positieve draai weet te geven.

Utrecht, januari 2004

CURRICULUM VITAE

Lissy Terhell was born in The Hague, The Netherlands, on January 29, 1973. After obtaining her secondary school diploma (Gymnasium-b) at the Huygens Lyceum in Voorburg in 1991, she began a study in Psychology at the University of Utrecht. In August 1996 she graduated in the field of Health Psychology. Subsequently Lissy worked on research projects about the psychological implications of DNA testing for inherited late-onset disorders at the Departments of Medical Psychology of the University of Utah in Salt Lake City (January-April 1997) and the University of Utrecht. In September 1998, she started as a Ph.D. student at the Department of Social Cultural Sciences (SCW), Vrije Universiteit (VU) in Amsterdam, where she conducted research on network changes after divorce, the results of which are presented in this thesis. She completed a postdoctoral training program for Ph.D. students at the Interuniversity Research Institute for Psychology and Health. In the last year of her Ph.D. project (2003) she also worked at the academic department of the Geestelijke Gezondheidszorg Buitenamstel, coordinating the data collection of a research project on the effectiveness of treatment methods for panic disorder. Currently she is employed as a postdoctoral researcher at the Department SCW of the VU.

